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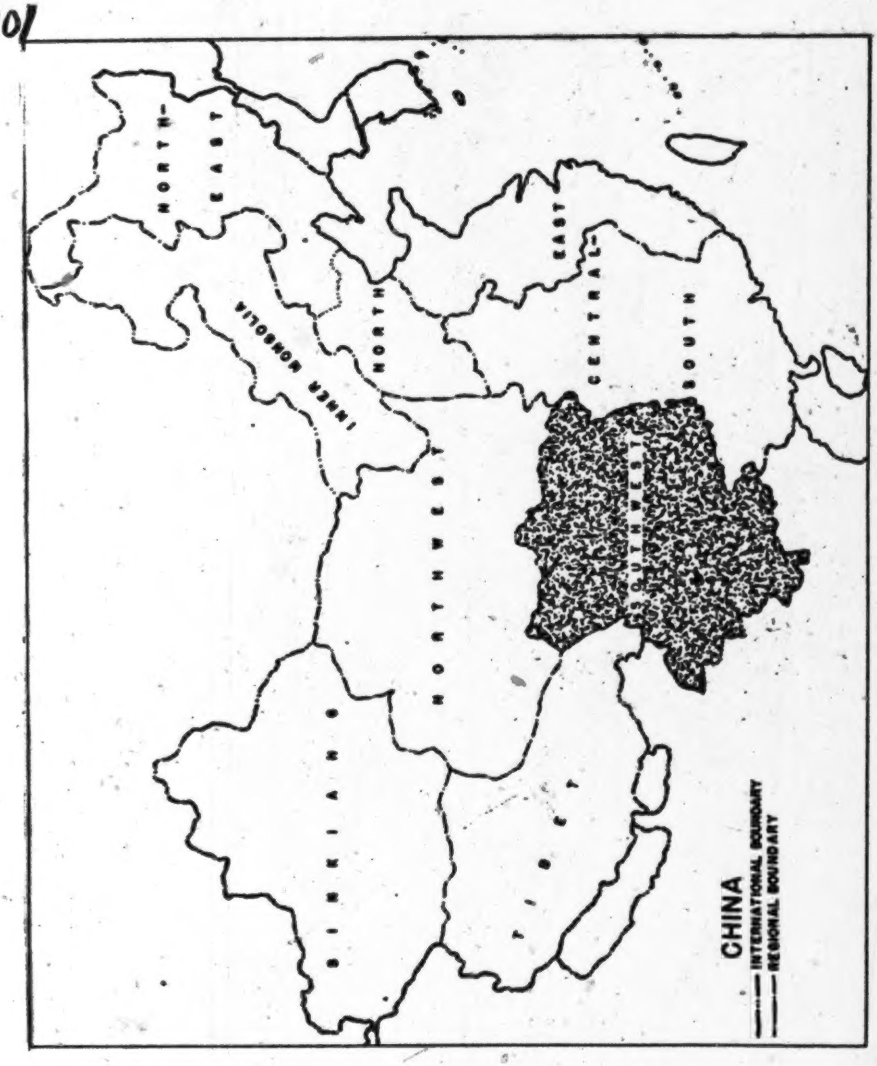
NORTH-EAST
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CHINA
INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY
REGIONAL BOUNDARY

[facing p. 1(a)]

[redacted]

AF16

Annex "A," Aubparagraph 1h,
Sociological Background

SOCIAL VALUES AND PATTERNS OF LIVING

I. CUSTOMS AND CHARACTERISTIC WAYS OF LIFE

177 The Chinese imperial system was strikingly successful in fostering common basic attitudes among the peoples which it absorbed within its ever-widening sphere, but local and regional sub-cultures, brought into the imperial order at different times throughout more than two millenia, did not lose all of their characteristic traits. 101 In Southwest China, the Red basin is the oldest center of "Chinese" civilization. Yunnan and Kweichow remained in the status of colonies for many centuries after Chinese culture had taken root in Szechwan. Thus one might say that there are in the Southwest two distinctive types of sub-cultures: one is the older culture of the area surrounding Chengtu, and the other encompasses the remainder of Szechwan, Yunnan, and Kweichow and has been forged out of the interactions -- over the last few centuries -- between indigenous cultures and the culture of the invading Chinese. There is then as high a cultural diversity in this region as in any other major region of China.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 2b,
Political Background

STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

I. MILITARY CONQUEST

101 Southwest China was the last region to come under the power of the Chinese Communists.

The term Southwest covers the following provinces: Szechwan, Kweichow, Yunnan, and Sikang. However, Sikang has been incorporated into Szechwan since July 1955.

669 A brief account of the conquest of these four provinces follows. The Communist army began their move toward this region at the beginning of November 1949. This task was entrusted to the 1st Field Army under P'eng Te-huai and to the 2nd, under Liu Po-ch'eng. When these two armies were fighting in the provinces of Hupeh and Hunan, they were further reinforced by the 4th army under Lin Piao. While the main force of P'eng's army went ahead for a direct attack of the Northwest Region, a part of his army remained in Shensi to fight the Nationalist army under the command of Hu Tsung-nan, who was withdrawing from Shensi to Szechwan and Sikang.

PREFACE

121 The work herewith presented to the public is the first of a series on West
101 China. It deals with a circumscribed area in northwest Yün-nan, Hsi-k'ang, Tibet and southwest Ssu-ch'uan inhabited by the Na-khi tribe known to the Chinese as Mo-so 麼些. While the region has been explored geographically in the strictest sense of the word, yet it includes areas, such as that of the Wu-so 五所 in southwestern Ssu-ch'uan, very little known, and visited at best by one two or three Europeans including the author.

Most explorers are content with a hurried reconnaissance of a given area, their aim being to cover as much territory as possible in the time at their disposal. Not so the author. I have spent twelve years exploring thoroughly the Na-khi inhabited part of Yün-nan, Hsi-k'ang 西康 and adjacent areas; first as agricultural explorer of the United States Department of Agriculture of Washington, D.C., then for the National Geographic Society of the same city and finally on my own, when I could devote my time exclusively to the study of the Na-khi tribe, their literature and the land they occupy.

127 Before undertaking to write this work, I spent the major part of my savings collecting, first of all, the Chinese literature on West China and eastern Tibet, and second, all publications in European languages pertaining to this area. I secured the various editions of the topographies or T'ung-chih 通志 not only of the western provinces, but of all the eighteen provinces of China and its dependencies; I bought all the local gazetteers, Hsien-chih 縣, Chou-chih 州, and T'ing-chih 廳 of Yün-nan, Ssu-ch'uan, Kan-su, and Tibet, published by the Chinese authorities from the Ming days to the present. These western China gazetteers have become exceedingly rare due to the devastations of the Mohammedan rebellion, which lasted for nearly 25 years, when all the printing blocks were destroyed and editions, stored in the official Yamens of the various districts, were burnt. Such records as were no longer obtainable in the provinces, I had copied from unica found only in the Palace Library and the National Library of Peiping. The Catholic Mission Library of Zikawei near Shanghai, rich in gazetteers, had also consented to have its rare and precious books copied. My own library contains many rare works not to be found in other libraries in Asia, Europe or America.

While living in Li-chiang, the capital of the former Na-khi Kingdom, I had all important inscriptions on stelae copied, and personally photographed genealogical records of tribal chiefs, precious manuscripts, heirlooms dating back to the T'ang and Sung dynasties. In addition, I collected over 4,000 ancient Na-khi pictographic manuscripts. A number of these are of historic interest, while the remainder deal with the religious literature of the Na-khi which is akin to the Bön, the pre-Buddhistic religion of Tibet.

114 My predilection for Chinese characters made me begin the study of the Chinese written language at the age of 15. It created a desire in me to explore the vast hinterland of China and to learn to know its history and geography at first hand. It caused me to study the ancient Na-khi language, now no more in use, but preserved in the pictographic literature, which has at last given up its secrets. Thus equipped, I undertook the task of delving into the history of this fascinating and wonderful country, which I covered

PART I

INTRODUCTION

THE PROVINCE OF YÜN-NAN

101 161 [212] Yün-nan 雲南 (South of the clouds) is the second largest province of China, and is situated in the extreme south-west of that vast country. Its area is approximately 146,700 square miles, and in 1933 it had a population of 11,795,486, or about 80.4 persons to the square mile. Of this population 6,095,549 were male, and 5,699,937 were female, and 88.88 per cent of the entire population was illiterate.

131 In the north it borders on Ssu-ch'uan 四川 and Hsi-k'ang 西康, in the west on Hsi-tsang 西藏 (Tibet) and Mien-tien 緬甸 (Burma). In the south it adjoins the south-eastern Shan States of Burma and also Indo-China, while in the east it borders on the Chinese provinces of Kuei-chou 貴州 and Kuang-hsi 廣西.

133 Yün-nan is a high table-land, intersected by some of the largest rivers of Asia, such as the Yangtze, Mekong, and Salween, and by the eastern branch of the Irrawadi (the Ch'iu Chiang 球江 of the Chinese) in the extreme west. These rivers flow parallel to each other for a considerable distance in terrific gorges. The intervening mountain ranges, which in the extreme north-west reach heights of 22,000 feet, are crowned by eternal snow. Of these the Mekong-Salween divide forms, in part, the Tibet – Yün-nan border. The altitude increases in the north-west, and we find towns at 11,500 feet elevation.

[361] [243] In the south, the province is partly covered with tropical jungle where tigers roam and malaria is prevalent, and where the Tai or Shan hold undisputed sway, as no Yünnanese will live below an altitude of 4,000 feet. Here the water-buffalo is at home, and rice is the main crop.

231 In the north the yak grazes on the high alpine meadows, and barley is grown at 12,000 feet. The yak furnishes the inhabitants with meat, milk, butter and cheese; its dung (argols) is used as fuel and its hair for the weaving of cloth for tents; it also serves as a transport animal. Here barley takes the place of rice and is the staple food of the Tibetans.

101 The capital of the province is Yün-nan fu, situated at an altitude of 6,400 feet, on a large plain surrounded by mountains. Near it is the famous lake known as Tien Ch'ih 滇池 or K'un-yang 昆陽. To-day Yün-nan fu is called K'un-ming 昆明, which, during the reign of Han Wu Ti, was the land of I-chou Chün 益州郡. While the name K'un-ming is an ancient one it seems not to have been applied to the land which bears that name to-day prior to the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty. The *K'un-ming hsien chih* speaks of three K'un-mings. In the oldest geographical record of Yün-nan we read, however, that the name K'un-ming had first been given to the lake at Yün-nan fu by General Chuang Ch'iao of the State of Ch'u in about 280 B.C. (*see* Note 3, page 6).

As this is not a history and geography of the whole of Yün-nan, but only of a specified area in its north-west, namely the region now occupied by the Mo-so

101 tribe, who call themselves Na-khi, the province is not described at length. To do so it would be necessary to publish, instead of two volumes, at least ten, when one considers that the present *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (Topography of Yün-nan) as published by the Yün-nan provincial authorities, consists of 220 *pen* 本 (books).

131 The area dealt with in this work does not lie strictly within the confines of Yün-nan, but extends to beyond its borders. It roughly comprises the land between East Longitude 98° and 103° and North Latitude 26° and 30°. This territory was never exclusively inhabited by the Mo-so or Na-khi tribe, nor was it ever a political unit under the rule of a Na-khi King or chief. To-day the area is partly in Tibet and Hsi-k'ang and partly in Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan, the greater part, however, being in the province of Yün-nan. It is represented in this work by four maps: Map no. 1, called Te-ch'in or A-tun-tzu; no. 2, Wei-hsi; no. 3, Li-chiang and no. 4, Yen-yüan.

162 131 In the area covered by map no. 1,[1] the Na-khi live in scattered villages alternating with Tibetan ones, with certain sections (on the west) occupied by other tribes, as the Lu-tzu or Nu-tzu, the Trun or Ch'iu-tzu, and Li-su on the south. The area represented by maps 2 and 3, is almost exclusively inhabited by Mo-so or Na-khi, save for a sprinkling of other tribes, such as the Miao, Chung-chia, Min-chia and Lo-lo or No-su, with Tibetans and Hsi-fan to the north. These tribes are more or less recent immigrants as are the Chinese. Map 4, comprises an area inhabited mainly by ancient Mo-so who may or may not be identical with the Na-khi of Li-chiang. Scattered among them live also Hsi-fan, Chinese, Tai or Shan as well as Lo-lo and a few Li-su. Chinese are everywhere in the minority.

194 Various hypotheses have been put forward as to the origin of the Na-khi. Suffice it to say that they are immigrants, descendants of the Ch'iang of north-eastern Tibet, and many references substantiating this statement will be found throughout the book. Whether the Mo-so are identical with the Na-khi will ever remain a moot question. That the P'u were the original inhabitants of the present home of the Mo-so or Na-khi we learn from Chinese History. The Mo-so, first mentioned in the Annals of the T'ang dynasty, were probably less numerous and disputed the land with the P'u. Then came the descendants of the Yüeh-hsi Ch'iang who with the Mo-so dispersed the P'u and settled in their land. The name Na-khi occurs nowhere in Chinese literature and as I suggested elsewhere, was probably given the Ch'iang by the Mo-so on account of their darker complexion. The name Na-khi (*na* = black, *khi* = man) became the designation for the tribe of the territory formerly occupied by the P'u; whether the Mo-so absorbed the Ch'iang or the Ch'iang the Mo-so remains a disputed question. The name Mo-so is of Chinese origin and is disliked by the Na-khi, it is looked upon as derogatory. I hope to be able to throw more light on this question in a future work on the religion and religious literature of the Na-khi.

000 In order gradually to introduce the reader or investigator to the history and geography of the former Na-khi Kingdom, it was deemed wise to give a description of the route from K'un-ming to Li-chiang 麗江, the ancient capital

[1] [see end map 1, cat 116 — Analyst]

of the Na-khi Kingdom, as well as accounts of K'un-ming and the various 000 prefectural towns encountered *en route*, and of their history in particular. Thus the reader will gain a historic bird's-eye view of Yün-nan proper, or, at least, of a large part of the province. Before giving these detailed descriptions of the capital and the various towns encountered on the way to Li-chiang, I shall begin with a brief résumé of the history of the province as a whole.

The territory of the P'u 濮 *tribe.* — During the reign of the Emperor Yü 禹, 175 known as Ta Yü 大禹 (The Great Yü), who was the first emperor of the Hsia 101 dynasty 夏紀 (2205–2198 B.C.), the land known now as Yün-nan lay outside his domain, which comprised nine *chou* 州 (divisions), the south-westernmost of which was Liang Chou 梁州. Yün-nan lay to the south-west of Liang Chou and was then known as the territory of the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷 (South-western barbarians).[1]

Prior to the Ch'in 秦 dynasty (255–209 B.C.) the Hsi-nan-i were all called P'u, and the name of Tien 滇 was not then known. P'u was also the name of a stream; in the *Han Shu Ti-li-chih* 漢書地理志 (Geographical Records of the Han dynasty) it is written 僕, which is the present-day Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾滄江 (Mekong). All the I 夷 (savages) were called P'u-jen 濮人. The Hsi-nan-man were also known as Pu-jen 卜人 and they dwelt where *tan-sha* 丹砂 [317] (cinnabar) originated, with which they paid tribute. These Pu-jen are identical with the P'u-jen. They had no rulers and lived where they pleased, scattered over the country. Hence they were called the Pai-p'u 百濮 (Hundred P'u).[2]

The Kingdom of Tien 滇. — General Chuang Ch'iao 莊蹻, who was a native of the State of Ch'u and a descendant of King Chuang 莊 (Chuang Wang) of Ch'u (613–591 B.C.), had been sent to conquer territory to the west of Shu 蜀 and Pa 巴 (Ssu-ch'uan) and to explore the Chiang 江 (Yangtze). He arrived on the shores of the Yün-nan Lake (Plate 1)¹ and called it Tien. As his road back to Ch'u was blocked on account of the State of Ch'in 秦 attacking Ch'u,

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[1] The Hsi-nan-i (later the Tien-jen 滇人), were also called Man 蠻; this appellation occurs very often in the Records of the Three Kingdoms (*San-kuo chih* 三國志). The character *man* is interpreted as "ungovernable vermin," and was used because they were not classed as human beings but as 虫 vermin, reptiles, insects. The Min 閩 tribe of Fukien and the Shu 蜀 tribe of Ssu-ch'uan were also considered vermin. These two tribal names are the classical names of the latter provinces. The Huns (Hsien-yün 玁狁), as well as the Hsün-yü 獯鬻, Ch'iang 羌 and Ti 狄, were classed by the Chinese with dogs and sheep, and never with human beings. Hence they used the dog 犭 and sheep 羊 radicals in the characters for their tribal names. — From the *Tien-i* 滇繹, or "Tien explained," by Yüan Chia-ku 袁嘉穀, ch. 1, fol. 24, published 1923.

[2] The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 189, fols. 2a–5a, states that the P'u 濮 savages had a tail several inches long, and that they lived in nests in the mountains and forests. Their land adjoined the Ai-lao 哀牢, or the present Pao-shan 保山 of Yün-nan. P'u was also the name of the land south-west of the State of Ch'u 楚. These P'u are also the P'u-man 濮蠻 of Shun-ning 順寧, and the Lan-ts'ang Chiang (Mekong) is the ancient P'u Shui 濮水. The land of the Pai-p'u extended from Shen-chou fu 辰州府, in Hu-nan 湖南, west to Yung-ch'ang 永昌, the present Pao-shan. During the period of the San Tai 三代 (i.e., the Hsia 夏, Shang 商 and Chou 周 dynasties, 2205–256 B.C.) they were known as P'u 濮, but afterwards as the people of Tien 滇, Yeh-lang 夜郎, K'un-ming 昆明, etc. Still later they are spoken of as the Two Ts'uan (Liang Ts'uan 兩爨) and the Liu-chao 六詔 (inhabitants of the Six kingdoms of Nan-chao 南詔). Their name was constantly changed subsequently.

1[p.28A--Analyst]

175 101 he remained in Yün-nan, made himself king, and called the land the kingdom of Tien, or Tien Kuo.[3]

The origin of Tien is explained as follows: the word *tien* 顚 is pronounced the same as *tien* 滇, and means the top or apex; heaven is said to be *tien* (high); Yün-nan on account of its altitude is said to be in the sky or *t'ien-shang* 天上.

When Chuang Ch'iao came from Ch'u and arrived on the high plateau of Yün-nan and on the shores of the lake, he called it the Tien Ch'ih, having reference to the high altitude of the lake. The kingdom he later established he called Tien-ch'ih Kuo 滇池國 and Tien Kuo, and himself Tien Wang (King of Tien). There is, however, another explanation of the origin of Tien. *Tien* 顚 also means "the beginning of" and "to upset," or "upside down." It is supposed to have reference to the stream called the Tien-ch'ih Ho 滇池河, which is the outlet of the K'un-yang Lake. The stream flows north instead of south, and parallel, or almost so, to the lake, and finally debouches in the Yangtze. It is said to flow *tien-tao* 顚倒 (reversed), and hence received the name Tien.

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[3] The *Yün-nan T'u-ching chih*, one of the earliest geographical works on Yün-nan, states, in ch. 1, fol. 1a, that Chuang Ch'iao was the younger brother of Ch'ing Hsiang 頃襄王, King of Ch'u (298–293 B.C.), and that it was he (Chuang Ch'iao) who also called the Yün-nan Lake K'un-ming. This would seem the earliest record of the name K'un-ming. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 189, fol. 5b, says that King Wei 威 (Wei Wang), of the State of Ch'u, sent General Chuang Ch'iao to Yün-nan. If this is correct, the Kingdom of Tien was established between 339 and 329 B.C. It is further stated on the same page, that at the beginning of the reign of Ch'ing Hsiang Wang (298 B.C.) the latter sent Chuang Hao 莊豪 from Yüan Shui 沅水 (the present Yüan Chiang 沅江 (Yüan River) which rises in the ancient district of Ch'ieh-lan 且蘭, and flows into the Tung-t'ing Hu 洞庭湖 [Tung-t'ing Lake]) to attack Yeh-lang 夜郎 [which is the present district of Ch'ü-ching 曲靖 to the north-east of Yün-nan fu]. His army arrived in Ch'ieh-lan, moored boats on the river bank, and then marched to battle.

The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 409, fol. 1b, states that in the period of the Fighting States, Kuei-chou which belonged to the State of Ch'u was the land of Ch'ien-chung 黔中, and that Yeh-lang and Ch'ieh-lan belonged also to that State. The T'un Shui 豚水, on the east, passed by the district of Ch'ieh-lan (Ch'ieh-lan hsien 縣). The T'un Shui is also called the Tsang-ko Shui 牂牁水, and its waters are several li broad. This seems an extraordinary statement, but the *Shui ching chu* 水經注 or Water Classic Commentary, ch. 36, fol. 12b, states that in the river are two mountains called Tsang-ko 牂牱 (here the ox 牛 radical is used instead of the 爿 or 木 radical). It is also stated that when Chuang Ch'iao attacked Yeh-lang and his army had arrived in Ch'ieh-lan, they tied their boats to the bank of the river. Therefore the river on the banks of which they placed stakes (*tsang-ko*) to tie their boats to, must have been the Tsang-ko Shui. According to the *Yün-nan Shui-tao k'ao* 雲南水道考 (Enquiry into the waterways of Yün-nan) the ancient Wen Shui 溫水 is here meant. It states that the Wen Shui has its source in the districts of Tsang-ko and Yeh-lang and that it was also the ancient T'un Shui. To-day this stream is called the Nan-p'an Chiang 南盤江 (Southern P'an River), which has its source 90 li west of Chan-i hsien 霑益縣 in a cave in the Hua Shan 花山洞 in eastern Yün-nan. The Nan-p'an Chiang is called the Chiao Ho 交河 in its upper reaches. The poet Wang Ts'an 王粲 wrote a poem on the scenic beauties of this river. The poem is called the *Chiao-ho yeh-yüeh* 交河夜月, i.e. The evening moon of the Chiao River. According to the *Ch'ao-ching ch'ao-wen chi* 巢經巢文集, ch. 2, fol. 1–2, the name Tsang-ko existed long before the time of Chuang Ch'iao.

SAINSON, *Nan-tchao Ye-che*, p. 271, gives the date of the founding of Tien Kuo, or the date of Chuang Ch'iao, at about 220 B.C. This could not have been the date, for the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* states, "At the beginning of the reign of Ch'ing Hsiang, Chuang Ch'iao was sent to Yün-nan" — which probably means about 298 or 297. He must have been at least 30 years old, or between 20 and 30, when he was sent to Yün-nan. Therefore, if 220 is taken

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The Miao-hsiang and Pai-tzu Kingdoms. — Long before Chuang Ch'iao established the Kingdom of Tien, Indian princes were said to have ruled in the western part of the province. Apparently the oldest name for that region was Miao-hsiang Kuo 妙香國 (Kingdom of excellent perfume). This was the present-day Ta-li fu or Ta-li hsien 大理縣, and belonged at that time to India. We read in the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史 (Romance of the Nan-chao Kingdom) that King A-yü (A-yü Wang 阿育王, also called P'iao-chü-ti 驃苴低 — the Indian Aśoka, King of Magadha, or Mo-chieh Kuo 摩竭國, the modern Behār) took for his spouse Ch'ien-meng-k'uei 欠蒙虧, who gave birth to a son by name Ti-meng-chü 低蒙苴. To the latter were born nine sons. The first-born, Meng Chü-fu-lo 蒙苴附羅, became the ancestor of 16 kingdoms. His eighth son was Meng Chü-sung 蒙苴頌, who was the ancestor of Jen-kuo 仁果 of the Pai-tzu (Kuo) Kingdom 白子國. This kingdom existed in the west of the province with the capital south-east of Ta-li fu, at Pai-ngai 白崖. Nothing is, however, known as to the succession of these princes. Their descendant,

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as the date of his establishing the kingdom of Tien, he would then have been about 100 years old, which, of course, is impossible.

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 1, ch. 3, p. 3b, says that when Ssu-ma Ts'o 司馬錯 of Ch'in 秦 attacked Ch'u 楚 and Ch'ien-chung 黔中, the road to Ch'u became closed and prevented the return of Chuang Ch'iao, who then settled in Yün-nan and called it the Tien Kuo, of which he became king. The history of the Kingdom of Ch'in relates that in the 27th year of Chao Hsiang Wang 昭襄王, which corresponds to 280 B.C., General Ssu-ma Ts'o of Ch'in, passing by way of Shu 蜀 (Ssu-ch'uan) invaded the Kingdom of Ch'u and Ch'ien-chung. This territory comprised parts of Hu-nan, Kuei-chou, Hu-pei 湖北 and Ssu-ch'uan. We thus learn that the Kingdom of Tien was founded in the year 280 and not 220. The *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑, ch. 4, fol. 16b, states that the word *ch'ien* 黔 was or is pronounced *ch'in* 琴. It further states that Ssu-ma Ts'o attacked Ch'u and Ch'ien-(Ch'in-)chung by way of Shu 蜀 in the 35th year of Chou Nan Wang 周赧王 or 280 B.C., so the founding of Tien must fall in that year.

I, personally, believe that Chuang Hao and Chuang Ch'iao are one and the same person, for the *Hua-yang kuo chih* 華陽國志, ch. 4, fols. 1a and 1b, states that "King Wei of Ch'u sent General Chuang Ch'iao from Yüan Shui to come out at Ch'ieh-lan and attack Yeh-lang, and to plant or place *tsang-ko* 牂柯 (stakes) on the banks of the Ch'ieh-lan to tie boats to. Thereupon Ch'ieh-lan was subdued and Yeh-lang was also reduced to submission." Two different persons could hardly be sent to the same place. This would be too much of a coincidence. The only discrepancy is, therefore, in the name of the king, and hence also in the time.

It is possible that the word *hao* 豪 stands for "leader" and *Chuang* for Chuang Ch'iao who was the leader of the expedition. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 189, fol. 6b, in fact states that Hao is identical with Chuang Ch'iao. On page 9a, however, it says that it is feared that this may not be so. As regards the name Tsang-ko 牂柯, the *Hou Han Shu* 後漢書, ch. 116, fol. 12a, states that "when they had arrived in Ch'ieh-lan, they moored boats on the bank"; also that "at Ch'ieh-lan there was a place for the mooring of boats to *tsang-ko* [stakes]." The name of the place had afterwards been changed and was known as Tsang-ko. A footnote says that *tsang-ko* was a post to tie boats to. The correct character is, however, 牁 and not 柯, though both are used.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states further that the Ch'ieh-lan region is the present-day P'ing-yüeh 平越, Kuei-yang 貴陽, etc., now in Kuei-chou province. The province of Tsang-ko (Tsang-ko Chün 牂牁郡) was established after the pacification of the Southern barbarians (Nan-i 南夷) in the sixth year of Yüan-ting 元鼎 of Wu Ti 武帝 (111 B.C.). Later Tsang-ko was divided into two districts, namely P'ing-i 平夷 and Yeh-lang; the former is still called P'ing-i 平彝 (彝 and 夷 are interchangeable) and is near the Kuei-chou border, while the latter is the present-day Ch'ü-ching 曲靖 and Chan-i hsien 霑益縣, both in eastern Yün-nan.

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Prince Jen-kuo, became later King of Tien, after the hereditary office of the Chuang Ch'iao family had come to an end.

These early Indian princes were succeeded by a family called K'un-mi 昆彌, and the State over which they ruled was known as K'un-mi Kuo 昆彌國. Again nothing is known as to the succession, nor are there any records of the names of the princes of the K'un-mi family. Their kingdom is said to have also been called Pai Kuo 拜國. This was before the time of the Fighting States 戰國 (480–403 B.C.) and prior to the arrival of General Chuang Ch'iao in Yün-nan.

The Chün of I-chou. — We now come to the decline of the Tien Kingdom with King Ch'ang Ch'iang 常羌 as the last of its kings. He ruled at the same time as Prince Jen-kuo: The former in the east of the province and the latter in the west. In the period Yüan-shou 元狩 of the Han Emperor Wu Ti 武帝 (122–117 B.C.), King Ch'ang Ch'iang incurred the displeasure of the Emperor, who favored Jen-kuo, who at that time ruled over the Pai-ngai Kuo 白崖國 in the west of Yün-nan (the present-day Hung-ngai 紅崖). In the second year of the period Yüan-feng 元封 of Han Wu Ti (109 B.C.) the King of Tien having been pacified, that is, conquered, his land was taken from him, and the province of I chou or I-chou Chün 益州郡 was created. Tsang-ko, Yüeh-sui 越嶲 and several other districts were merged with it. After a few years all the land of K'un-ming was annexed and made subject to that province. The *chün* consisted at that time of 24 *hsien* (districts).

Han Wu Ti invested Jen-kuo with the title of King of Tien, and gave his State the name of Pai-tzu Kuo. He was also authorized to change his capital from Pai-ngai, in the west of the province, to Ch'eng-chiang 澂江, south-east of K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu). The town still exists, and is 120 li from the capital. Thus the kingdom of Tien was annexed to the principality of Pai-ngai.

The State of Chien-ning. — We now come to the period of the Shu Han 蜀漢 (Minor Han dynasty), to the third year of the period Chien-hsing 建興 of the Emperor Hou Ti 後帝, who had sent the famous Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮 to Yün-nan to conquer it for the State of Shu. It was in the third moon (March 27th–April 25th, A.D. 225) that Chu-ko Liang attacked the South and entered Yün-nan. He stopped at Pai-ngai where he found Lung-yu-na 龍佑那, a descendant of Jen-kuo of the 15th generation. He changed Lung's family name to Chang 張 and appointed him chief of the kingdom which he called Chien-ning Kuo 建寧國. The capital of that kingdom was Chien-ning ch'eng, the present Mi-tu 彌渡, 30 li south of Hung-ngai, on the way to Ta-li fu 大理府. Later on Chang Lung-yu-na transferred his capital to Ch'eng-chiang[4] where his ancestor Jen-kuo had ruled during the Han dynasty.

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[4] It is, perhaps, of interest to record that in the T'ang dynasty the Na-khi lived in the region described as follows:

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, edition of the first year of Ch'ien-lung (1736), in ch. 4, fol. 30a, states that at the end of the period T'ien-pao of T'ang 唐天寶 (755) the Mo-so-man 麼些 absorbed the territory of Ch'eng-chiang. Later the district was called Lo-ch'ieh tien 羅伽甸. The P'o (Po)-man 僰蠻 afterwards conquered it. They were followed by the Meng family 蒙氏, of the Nan-chao Kingdom, who called it Ho-yang Chün 河陽郡. The Tuan family 段氏, who ruled Nan-chao under the name of Ta-li Kuo 大理國, divided the Mo-so into three tribes, namely the Ch'iang-tsung 羌宗部, Hsiu-chih 休制部 and Pu-hsiung 步雄部.

The *Ch'eng-chiang fu chih* 澂江府志 (ed. 1719), ch. 3, fols. 4b–5a, says that because T'u-mo-

The Nan-chao or Southern Kingdom. — A gap of nearly 400 years intervenes now during which nothing is known as to successions, or chronology, until we come to the descendant of Chang Lung-yu-na, of the 17th generation. His name was Chang Lo-chin-ch'iu 張樂進求. He was invested by the T'ang Emperor T'ai Tsung 太宗 in the 23rd year of the period Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (649) with the title of Shou-ling Ta-chiang-chün 首領大將軍 (Grand Marshal Commander-in-Chief). In the same year, however, he asked permission of the Emperor to abdicate in favor of the Meng family 蒙氏. He gave his daughter in marriage to a certain Meng Hsi-nu-lo 蒙細奴邏 who was a descendant of Meng Chü-tu 蒙苴篤 of the 36th generation. The latter was the fifth son of Ti-meng-chü 低蒙苴, a son of King A-yü 阿育 (Asoka, King of Magadha). Meng Hsi-nu-lo became the founder of the Nan-chao Kingdom and called his dynasty Ta Meng and his domain the Ta Meng Kuo 大蒙國 (Great Meng Kingdom). He was 32 years of age when he came to the throne in 649. His capital was Meng-she ch'eng 蒙舍城, the present Meng-hua hsien 蒙化縣, a town situated two stages south of Ta-li. He ruled until 674, while his dynasty lasted until 902.[5]

The history of the Nan-chao Kingdom forms the subject of a treatise written by the famous Han-lin scholar Yang Shen, 楊愼, of the latter part of the Ming dynasty, who in 1524 incurred the displeasure of the Emperor Hou Tsung 厚熜 (Chia-ching). He was first thrown into prison, and later banished to south-western Yün-nan (Yung-ch'ang 永昌), where he died in 1559. His ancestral shrine is in the temple compound of P'u-hsien Ssu 普賢寺, at Kao-ch'iao 高嶢 across the lake from K'un-ming. This treatise (the already mentioned *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史) has been translated into French by Camille Sainson, a former French vice-consul at Ho-k'ou 河口 on the Yün-nan and Indo-China border. See appendix to Chapter VII, pp. 177–184.

Much of the history of the Nan-chao Kingdom can be found in the history of Li-chiang and need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that the kingdom existed for over 600 years, from 649 to 1253, during which time Yün-nan was independent of the Chinese Empire. It was Kublai Khan, later the famous Mongol Emperor, who invaded Yün-nan in 1253 and annexed it to the empire, reducing the last King of Nan-chao, Tuan Hsing-chih 段興智, to a mere hereditary governor of Ta-li.

Tuan Hsing-chih had 12 successors, the last governor of Ta-li being Tuan Shih 段世 who took office in the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382).

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chih 徒莫祗 of the Mo-so had acquired merit, his sons were organized into three tribes, and the territory of Ho-yang was divided among them as Ch'iang-tsung, Hsiu-chih and Pu-hsiung pu. The first became the Yang-tsung hsien 陽宗縣 of the Yüan and Ming dynasties (now obsolete); the second is the present Hsin-hsing hsien 新興縣, the third is the Chiang-ch'uan 江川 district of to-day. The Pu-hsiung afterwards lived at Ch'ieh-tien and were therefore called the Lo-ch'ieh pu 羅伽部. On p. 3b of the same work, it states further that T'u-mo-chih dwelt west of the Ts'uan-man 爨蠻 (Lo-lo) who submitted with them to T'ai Tsung 太宗 of the T'ang dynasty in the 23rd year of the Cheng-kuan 貞觀 period (649). T'u-mo-chih's territory was then at Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 and belonged to two chou, P'ang 傍 and Wang 望.

[5] P. M. Tchang, S.J., in his "Tableau des Souverains de Nantchao" (*B.E.F.E.O.* Vol. 1: 313, 1901) gives the dynastic title of Hsi-nu-lo as (Fong-ming) Feng-min 封民.

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The province of Yün-nan. — The Ming Emperor Yüan Chang 元璋 (Hung-wu) sent Generals Fu Yu-te 傅友德 and Mu Ying 沐英 to subjugate Yün-nan; their troops seized various towns in the south-east of the province, such as Lin-an 臨安, Ch'eng-chiang 澂江, Yüan-chiang 元江 and even Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄, half-way between Ta-li and K'un-ming. Gradually they advanced on Ta-li, which fell on the 23rd of the second moon, in the 15th year of Hung-wu (March 8th, 1382). Various revolts on the part of the aborigines followed in different parts of the province, but these were ruthlessly suppressed, for we read that in the eastern part of the province 30,000 heads were cut off, and of 200,000 insurgents who had attacked Yün-nan fu, 60,000 were decapitated.

In the same year 1382 the province was for the first time called Yün-nan 雲南, and this name has been retained throughout, up to the present day. The name Yün-nan appears for the first time, however, in the year 122 B.C. during the reign of Han Wu Ti, in the first year of the period Yüan-shou. It was then not the name of the province, but of a small town to the east of Ta-li, namely Yün-nan hsien. The *Yün-nan hsien chih* 雲南縣志 (Records of the district of Yün-nan) state that in that year (122 B.C.) brilliant (varicolored) clouds were seen in Pai-ngai, whereupon the hsien of Yün-nan was established.

The *Nan-chao Yeh shih* states that there is another explanation for the origin of the name Yün-nan. It is said that in the reign of Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 of the T'ang dynasty (713–755), the Minister of the State of Meng-she 蒙舍, by name Sheng Lo-p'i 盛邏皮, went in audience at the Court. When the Emperor asked him where he resided, he replied: "In the south, at the foot of the clouds"; thereupon the Emperor named his land Yün-nan (South of the clouds).

stone, and the entire plateau is apparently hollow, as is the region of the lake 487
of La-shih-pa 刺是壩. The walls of the sink-holes are covered with oaks and
pines, the floors giving way in the center to funnel-like shafts. 133

The trail leads east over the undulating plain of yellow clay and extensive 137 limestone outcroppings, which remind one of the lava-flows of Hawaii, but are grey in color. These outcroppings are taken possession of by deep pink *Rhododendron racemosum* bushes which, with a prostrate form of *Quercus semicarpifolia*, form regular carpets.

Straight ahead is the famous pyramidal mountain Wen-pi Shan 文筆山 (Pencil Hill), called Sä-bpi zhĕr nv-lv, or Sä-bpi a-nan Ngyu, in Na-khi, whose slopes had suffered badly during the earthquake in 1925, when the whole western face of the mountain slid down, forming a huge talus slope. The mountain is renowned in Tibet. It represents a mountain deity called Zhi-dag-mung-po (gzhi-bdag-smug-po གཞི་བདག་སྨུག་པོ). (*See: San-pi-wai-lung* p. 184).

Further the trail turns north-east over the same plateau (called in Na-khi, La-bpiu-k'o), at an elevation of 10,000 feet, and then descends to a little shrine called the Shan-shen Miao 山神廟 (Shrine of the mountain spirit). It continues on down to a lower plateau — again with sink-holes — the level places being under cultivation. From here the Li-chiang snow range is now visible to the north.

The crops on this plateau are dependent wholly on rain, for it is entirely 312 waterless. The lowest part stands at 9,400 feet, and the dusty trail seems endless, but descends at last through pine forest to the plain of La-shi, in Chinese La-shih-pa 喇是壩 (also written 刺是壩). The caravan stop is at the hamlet of Sä-bpi wùa boa (also called Sä-mbi wùa-boa in the Dto-mba or Na-khi priest books). Elevation 8,700 feet.

Beyond the village a wooden bridge leads over the La-lo-k'a stream, whence the trail runs between the La-shi Khü (Lake of La-shi), and the mountains and then north-east towards the pass over the spur which joins the southern end of the Li-chiang snow range with Ma-an Shan 馬鞍山 and Wen-pi Shan 文筆山. The pass is called in Na-khi, La-shi gkaw-gku, is 8,750 feet above sea level, and 20 li from La-shih-pa. From its foot it is eight li across the plain to the town of Li-chiang.

As the region to the south of Li-chiang is inhabited mainly by the Min-chia tribe it may not be out of place here to say a few words about these neighbors of the Mo-so, or Na-khi.

THE MIN-CHIA TRIBE (PLATES 7, 8)

The Min-chia 民家, called Lä-bbu by the Na-khi and considered by them 101 as their second elder brother — the first being the Tibetan, whom they call Gv-dzu — are known to the Chinese, especially in their literature, as Pai-jen 白人 (White people). In their own language they call themselves P'ĕr-tsu; colloquially they speak of themselves as P'ĕr-nv-tsu. They are scattered over much of Yün-nan and formed once the principal population of the ancient Nan-chao Kingdom. Unlike the Na-khi they have no written language. They are much intermingled with the tribes which live in the neighboring region of

101 Ta-li. From their stronghold, which is the Ta-li plain, they extend north to
Ho-ch'ing, one day south of Li-chiang, and thence south-west, where they
occupy exclusively the valley of the P'i Chiang 泚江 with its two towns, Yün-lung 雲龍[3] in the south, and Lan-p'ing 蘭坪 in the north.

[291] The K'un-ming plain is to some extent also peopled by Min-chia, and the
women are easily recognized by the brilliant red trousers they wear. They are
197 now a mixed race and, as Terrien de Lacouperie says, "their language bears
out the same testimony." In his paper on the pre-Chinese languages he says,
"Chinese, Mo-so, Lo-lo, and Tibetan words have been adopted instead of the
original vocables, but the Mon character of the language is still recognizable
in many words, and the positions of the genitive and of the adjective are in
accordance with this indication." The Min-chia are not related to the Tibeto-
[144] Burman stock to which the Mo-so or Na-khi belong, but are akin to the Pa-laung, Wa, and others of the Mon-Khmer race. As I have not studied these
people, I shall simply give translations of texts regarding them from Chinese
works such as the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (Great Topography of Yün-nan), etc.
See: FITZGERALD C. P., *The Tower of Five Glories*, 1941.

539 The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 199, pp. 8b–9a, states: "Pai-jen first dwelled
173 at Ta-li and Pai-ngai-ch'uan 白崖川. Accordingly they belong to the division
101 of the Pai-man 白蠻 of Chin-ch'ih 金齒 [Chin-ch'ih ch'eng 金齒城 is the
present-day Pao-shan 保山 (Yung-ch'ang 永昌) in south-west Yün-nan].
[302] Because the custom of the Pai-i 百夷 was to cover two of their front teeth with
gold, they were called the Chin-ch'ih-man 金齒蠻" (Gold-teeth savages).
This custom still prevails in Yün-nan; especially in the capital, where Chinese
dentists are more busily engaged covering perfectly sound canines with gold
than in genuine dentistry.

"To the west of Chin-ch'ih were the T'u man 土蠻 (Aboriginal savages) to whom belonged eight tribes, the Chin-ch'ih, Pai-i, P'o, O-ch'ang 峨昌 (Marco Polo's Vo-chang), P'iao 驃 (evidently the natives of eastern Burma are meant), the Hsieh 榭, Chü-lo 渠羅 and Pi-su 比蘇. The Chin-ch'ih-man were originally the Mang-shih-man 芒施蠻. At the time when I-mou-hsün fought all the savages, the Chin-ch'ih tribe were weakened. Afterwards they increased and flourished. For that reason there was established in the Chin-ch'ih and other [tribal] lands an An-fu-ssu 安撫司 (Pacification commissioner). Afterwards the Pai-jen dwelled in the territory of Ching-tung fu 景東府,[4] Yün-nan, Lin-an 臨安, Ch'ü-ching 曲靖, K'ai-hua 開化, Ta-li, Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄, Yao-an 姚安, Yung-ch'ang, Yung-pei 永北 and Li-chiang.

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[3] Latitude, 25° 49'; Longitude 99° 22'. According to the K'ang-hsi dictionary the character 泚 is read *tz'u* and never *p'i* or *pi*. The people of Yün-lung call their river Pi Chiang, also often P'i Chiang. The character 泚 used on the local military map and in Yün-nan generally is therefore wrong; it should be 沘, which according to the K'ang-hsi dictionary is pronounced *pi* or *p'i*, and is also given as the name of a river. The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung chih*, ch. 478, fol. 11a, states it is also called Lo-ma Chiang 絡馬江 and Shun Chiang 順江, it has its source in Lao-chün Shan.

[4] Pi-su was one of the eight *ch'eng* (cities) of the State of Yung-ch'ang, which was the Li-chiang district during the Later Han dynasty, and is not to be confused with the present Yung-ch'ang just mentioned. During the Nan-chao Kingdom the Pai-man captured Ching-tung, after it had been established by the Meng family as Yin-sheng fu 銀生府.

"The Pai-jen are also called Min-chia-tsu (Sons [descendants] of the families of the people).

"They are a branch of the ancient Pai Kuo 白國. Anciently they were erroneously called P'o and afterwards the P'o and Pai were considered one tribe. In point of fact, they have nothing in common.

"They are distributed everywhere over Yün-nan. Their customs are not very different from those of the Chinese.

"The Pai-jen are the descendants of Chang Lo-chin-ch'iu 張樂進求 of the Pai Kuo. [He was the King of Chien-ning 建寧 who in the 23rd year of T'ang Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (649) abdicated in favor of the Meng family. The city of Chien-ning is the present Mi-tu 彌渡, 30 li south of Hung-ngai, the former Pai Kuo or White Kingdom]. The Chao 趙, Yang 楊 and Tuan families 段氏 are their descendants.

"They believe in Buddhism and sorcery."

The *Tien hsiao-chi* 滇小記 (Brief History of Tien), fol. 59b, states: "The Pai-jen are the scattered descendants of the ancient Pai-Kuo. They are now distributed all over Yün-nan. Colloquially they are known as Pai-erh-tzu 白兒子. Tradition relates that they were the followers of Chuang Ch'iao 莊蹻 who came to Yün-nan from the State of Ch'u 楚 and later [about 280 B.C.] established the Kingdom of Tien, and made himself King of Tien" (Yün-nan).

[p. 44 is blank]

Chinese Imperial rule. In the first year of Yüan-feng 元封 (110 B.C.), Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 [born about 145 B.C., died between 86–74], a Lang-chung 郎中 (Senior Secretary of a board), was commissioned to subjugate Pa Shu 巴蜀 (Ssu-ch'uan) in the west, and to seize the territory of Chiung 邛, Tso 作 and K'un-ming 昆明,[3] namely the land of Li-chiang." 173

In the second year of Yüan-feng 元封 (109 B.C.) the generals Kuo Ch'ang

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south as the Ta-shen kou 大深溝 which debouches into the Hei Ho 黑河 which has its source 133 south of the range flanking the Pai-shui Chiang to the south. Here all existing maps are entirely incorrect both foreign and Chinese (*see* J. F. Rock, The Land of the Tebbus in *The Geographical Journal* (R. G. S. London) Vol. LXXXI, no. 2, 1933; p. 108–127, map on p. 112). There follows a maze of mountains with valleys, the main being that of the Hei Ho flowing south to where it is joined by the Pai Ho 白河, the latter having several sources all coming from the south or southeast and flowing north till they mingle with the Hei Ho and then flow east past Nan-p'ing, to Wen hsien 文縣. It is the range to the south of this stream, extending from west to east, to the north of Sung-pan and Lung-an, now called P'ing-wu 平武, which is the Min Shan of Ssu-ch'uan or the Wen Shan of the ancients. A pass known as the Kung-kang Ling 弓槓嶺 leads over it and it is here that the Min Chiang 岷江 or Min River has its source. V. K. Ting on map 27 gives the Min Shan to the south of the Pai-lung Chiang and for the actual Min Shan of Kan-su he gives the name Hsi-ch'ing Shan 西傾山?, both are incorrect. The Hsi-ch'ing Shan of the Tribute of Yü or Yü-kung is none other than the Tibetan Klu(i)-khra-bu-lag, pronounced Lu(i)-chhra-bu-lag which in the *Hsi-yü t'ung-wen chih* 西域同文志 is transcribed Lo-ch'a-p'u-la 祿察布拉. This mountain range which I visited and where the T'ao Ho, called in Tibetan Klu (Lu) Chhu, has its source (whence the range derives its name Lui-of the Lu River), is to the west of the Min Shan and is undoubtedly an extension of it, being also of limestone, but grassland separates the two ranges.

[2] Yeh-yü is the present Ta-li and was 10 li north-east of T'ai-ho hsien 太和縣. In ancient days, during the Han dynasty, Yeh-yü must have comprised a larger area, for Ma Tuan-lin speaks of the savages of Yeh-yü. The name Yeh-yü first appears during the period Yüan-feng in the second year of Han Wu Ti (109 B.C.). The Yeh-yü were a tribe, as were the Ku-hui 故繪 who lived with them in the same territory. The land of the Ku-hui-i was to the east of Teng-chuan 鄧川, whose territory adjoined Yeh-yü. In the 18th year of Chien-wu 建武 (A.D. 42) of the Later Han dynasty the Yeh-yü savages rebelled and killed their chief official. 101

Under Han Wu Ti, in the sixth year of Yüan-ting (111 B.C.) there were founded 15 hsien (districts) in the Commandery of Yüeh-sui or Yüeh-sui Chün 越嶲郡. The first was Chiung-tu 邛都. This is the land south-east of the present district of Hsi-ch'ang 西昌縣 in Ssu-ch'uan. Ting-tso 定筰 was the present Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣, also in Ssu-ch'uan. Ta-tso 大筰 was to the north of Hui-li chou 會理州. Ku-fu 姑復 at that time was the land west of Li-chiang. — From the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 9, fol. 3b. The *Yen-yüan hsien chih*, ch. 2, fol. 6a, says Ta-tso is supposed to be the present Mien-ning hsien 冕寧縣. Actually it is the Mu-li 木里 and Kua-pieh 瓜別 of Yen-yüan.

[3] Chiung 邛 was east of Yüeh-sui 越嶲, in the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌 of Ssu-ch'uan, and the district of Tso 筰 west of it, while K'un-ming 昆明 was the territory west of I chou 益州, the K'un-ming of to-day. Li-chiang at that time belonged to Yüeh-sui Chün 越嶲郡 and was called Ting-tso hsien 定筰縣. The Tso were a nomad tribe and so were the Chiung. Jan and Mang. They were also called Tso-tu 筰都 and Chiung-tu 邛都. The *Shih Chi* 史記, ch. 123, fol. 8b, relates that Han Wu Ti sent several embassies over four different routes to the western regions of Shu 蜀. Each of the embassies covered one to two thousand li of territory. The northern embassy's route was closed by the Ti 氐 and Tso 筰 tribes, and the southern embassy's route was closed by the Sui 嶲 and K'un-ming 昆明 savages. In K'un-ming there existed neither a prince nor a chief, but they understood stealing and robbing, and murdered messengers from the Court of Han at every opportunity, so that no one could pass.

The *Tien-hsi*, Vol. 4, fol. 3b, says that "when in the 17th year of Yung-p'ing (A.D. 74), the Pai-lang-i 白狼夷 (White wolf barbarians) came to pay tribute, they composed a poem extolling the merit and virtues of the Han dynasty. Governor Chu Fu 朱輔 of I chou translated it and offered it to the Throne. Pai-lang was then the territory of present-day Li-chiang."

The *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 74, fol. 23b, states: "For many generations the Pai-lang, P'an-mu and other tribes were not under the control of the Empire, and therefore offered no tribute to the court of Han. Later, however, these tribes, as well as others, came to report to the governor of I chou, and said they would offer tribute. Afterwards all these countries were absorbed by the Hsi-ch'iang 西羌 (Western Ch'iang) tribe."

The reason for the Pai-lang and other tribes submitting to the Later Han dynasty, offering to pay tribute, and even composing three stanzas of a song extolling the virtues of the dynasty, is to be found in Ma Tuan-lin's 馬端臨 statement: "The Governor of I chou was kind, and had a reputation of uprightness, and treated the Man justly."

The Circuit of Li-chiang 麗江路, of the Yüan dynasty, was the western border of the Chün of Yüeh-sui 越嶲郡 in the Han, Sui 隋 and T'ang dynasties. To the north dwelled the Mo-so-man (Na-khi) in the Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔 (Kingdom of Yüeh-hsi).

These two States were inhabited by Wu-man (Black savages). — *Tien-hsi*, Vol. 1, fol. 27a.[8]

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chiang, controlled also the territory of the present-day Mu-li, to within two stages south of Li-t'ang. It is this territory which according to Chinese geographers was known as Pai-lang Kuo in the Later Han dynasty.

[8] It is interesting to note that the Mo-so who belong to the Wu-man call themselves Na-khi, as the Lo-lo call themselves No-su, both of which terms would indicate "Black-People"; yet *black people* in Na-khi is *khi-na*, as the adjective follows the noun it qualifies. The word *Na* is here a noun and not an adjective and must stand for the name of the tribe. In that sense it is equivalent to the Chinese *Wu man*. They also speak of themselves as *Na-zo* or the Sons of Na, while they call the Tibetans *P'ĕr-zo* or the Sons of P'ĕr (the sons of the White). In my paper on the Na-khi Hä-zhi-p'i in *B.E.F.E.-O., T.* XXXVII: 1937, p. 48, n. 4, I have suggested that the name Na-khi may be derived from their having been black tent dwellers in contradistinction to their neighbors either the Hor, or the people of Ling of whom Ge-sar was king, who are said to have lived in white tents. Ge-sar fought many battles with the Mo-so King Sa-tham. *See* also p. 4 and note 6, pp. 180-81.

The word *wu* in Na-khi means a slave, and a derogatory term for a slave is *wu-yi*. This is transcribed in Chinese as *wu-i* 無弋. In Na-khi *yi* means to be covered with sores, or itch — to be unclean. The name of one of the ancestors of the Ch'iang tribes was Ch'iang Wu-i Yüan-chien 羌無弋爰劍. He had been captured and made a slave by the small feudal State of Ch'in 秦 (909–247 B.C.) during the reign of Duke Ch'in Li 秦厲公 (475–440 B.C.). Because of this, the Ch'iang called him Wu-yi (*Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng* 古今圖書集成, *Ch'iang-pu* 羌部, ch. 47, § 1, fol. 5b). According to the *Shih Chi*, ch. 5, fols. 16a–b, it states that Tao Kung 悼公, the father of Li-kung Kung 厲共公, died in the 14th year of his reign, which would be equivalent to 478 B.C. The death of Li-kung Kung falls in the 34th year of his reign which would be our 444 B.C. M. TCHANG, S.J., in his *Synchronismes chinois*, makes Tao Kung die in the 20th year of his reign (472) and Li-kung Kung in the 28th year of his reign (444). The figures I have given are according to J. LEGGE. A. TSCHEPE, S.J., in his *Histoire du Royaume de Ts'in* gives the reigning dates of Tao Kung as 491–477 B.C., and Li-kung Kung as 476–443 B.C.

PART III

THE GEOGRAPHY OF LI-CHIANG

CHAPTER I

The Boundaries and Sub-districts of Li-chiang

101 *The ancient boundaries.* — According to the *Tien-hsi*, ch. 1, fols. 25b–26a (of 1808), Li-chiang is north-west of the capital of Yün-nan (Plate 50). In the east it borders on the district of Yung-pei (the present Yung-sheng), a distance of 400 li; in the west, on the territory of the Nu-i 怒夷 (Lu-tzu), a tribe inhabiting the valley of the Salween or Nu Chiang 怒江 (潞江), a distance of 670 li; south, to the border of Ta-li fu and Lang-k'ung hsien 浪穹縣, 240 li; north, to Chung-tien, a distance of 45 li; south-west to Yün-lung 雲龍, 619 li; north-west to Wei-hsi 維西, 450 li.

[131] From Li-chiang to the capital of Yün-nan is a distance of 1,240 li. The width of the Li-chiang district from east to west is 670 li, and from south to north 310 li.

According to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, ch. 上, fol. 8a, the ancient boundaries of the Li-chiang district were as follows: "In the east it bordered on the territory of Yung-pei fu, a distance of 130 li; in the west on the land of the Nu-i, a distance of 640 li; in the south on the prefecture of Ho-ch'ing (fu), 45 li distant; in the north on the district of Chung-tien, 55 li distant. In the south-east also, on Ho-ch'ing fu, but 135 li distant; south west on the prefecture of Ta-li (fu) and Yün-lung chou, a distance of 630 li; north-east on the territory of Yung-ning, governed by Yung-pei, a distance of 450 li; in the north-west on Wei-hsi, governed by Ho-ch'ing, a distance of 457 li. The width of the Li-chiang district from east to west was 770 li, and its length from south to north 100 li."

This was the extent of the Li-chiang territory in the eighth year of Ch'ien-lung (1743). The present extent of the district is considerably less. In the east the Yangtze is the border to the iron chain-bridge at Ching-li 井里 [1] (Dsi-li in Na-khi). The present border extends south to Ch'i-ho 七河, south-west to Chiu-ho 九河, west and north-west again to the Yangtze and including Lu-tien 魯甸; north to Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭, and north-east to Shang (Upper) Feng-k'o 上捧可, on the Yangtze, which forms here the border between Li-chiang and Yung-ning.

361 *The ancient city of Li-chiang.* — "In ancient days, Li-chiang was known as the native prefectural city and possessed no wall.

"In the first year of Yung-cheng (1723) a tamped earth wall was erected at the request of the Yün-nan viceroy. The foundation was constructed of rock and the top was covered with tiles. It was four li in circumference, ten Chinese feet high, and had four gates with gate-towers. A small west gate was also built. In the 16th year of Ch'ien-lung (1751) there was an earthquake which

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[1] Also written Tzu-li 梓里.

[p.171] [p.170 is blank]

633 361 ing of *ngu*[2] is to carry, as a load on the back, and *bä* would refer to business, thus *ngu-bä* would mean to carry a load to be sold, as on the Li-chiang market (PLATE 51), and this seems to be the better explanation of the two.

The actual Yi-gv, however, the name which is applied to-day to Li-chiang, is a very small village situated in a little valley back of the larger village called Gyi-wùa, the Chinese Ch'ing-ch'i-ts'un 清溪村. Here water-springs issue over quite an area and these flow south, but not through the town of Li-chiang. These springs are called in Na-khi, Ssi or Ssä-mi gyi (Pomegranate water). The spring which issues at the foot of the eastern slopes of the Hsiang Shan 象山 (Elephant Mountain), and which forms the pond in the temple grounds of the Lung-wang Miao 龍王廟, is called Ngu-lu gyi by the Na-khi.

361 It is possible that the very first Na-khi settlement in this region was where the tiny hamlet of Yi-gv is now situated, for the Na-khi are also called Yi-gv khi (People of Yi-gv). The name Yi-gv was probably only later applied to their capital, the Chinese Li-chiang. The name Li-shui 麗水 (Beautiful waters) was first given to the district during the T'ang dynasty when it had been conquered by the Meng shih 蒙氏 (Meng family) in 794. Li Shui was also the name of the Yangtze, which further bore the name of Shen Ch'uan 神川. The name of Li-chiang does not appear until the Mongol dynasty in 1271. This name has been retained to the present day for the district, as well as for the town. The Li-chiang district numbers 28,375 families or a total of 132,582 inhabitants. Of these 68,216 are male and 64,366 female, and, according to the census of 1931, of the total population only 5,340 men and 170 women were literate.

131 The town is situated in latitude 27° 10′, according to Major Davies; in latitude 26° 52′, and longitude 100° 27′, according to Playfair. The Army Map Service *Gazetteer of Chinese Place Names based on V. K. Ting Atlas* gives longitude 100° 15′, latitude 26° 51′. Its altitude is 8,200 feet. It is situated at the foot, that is, at the southernmost point, of the long limestone range of Hsiang Shan. The range extends north and divides the Li-chiang plain in half, the western part extending towards Nga-ba, an ancient lake bottom from which it is separated by a spur called Dza-dza mbu.

THE COMMUNES OF LI-CHIANG

361 101 *Pai-sha li.* — The villages situated on the western part of the plain belong to Pai-sha li, that is, south of and including the village to the west, Hsi-wen-ts'un 西文村, and Tung-wen-ts'un 東文村 on the east. They are called in Na-khi, Mbe-man̲ nyi-mä-gv and Mbe-man̲ nyi-mä-t'u respectively. Pai-sha, the Na-khi Boa-shi, is the largest village of Pai-sha li.[3] (PLATE 52.)

Shu-ho li. — The villages south of Pai-sha li, as far as the road which leads over Huang Shan 黃山 (Yellow Mountain) — the Gkaw-gku of the Na-khi — belong to Shu-ho li 束河里, of which Shu-ho, the Shwua-wùa of the Na-khi, is the largest village. The lamasery of P'u-chi Ssu 普濟寺 belongs to this li;

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[2] When the word is used by itself, it is read *gu*, but in conjunction with other words in a sentence, or in a name as here, Ngu-bä, it is pronounced *ngu* instead of *gu*.

[3] Since this was written the Communes are called Hsiang 鄉.

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the place is called in Na-khi, P'u-ts'ü-wùa, after the village known in Chinese as P'u-ch'i-wa-ts'un 普七瓦村.

Ta-yen li. — The town of Li-chiang itself is in the li of Ta-yen 大硏里. The villages to the east of Hsiang Shan belong to the same li, but not further north than the village of A-fu 阿夫.

Tung-shan li. — To the north of A-fu the villages belong to Tung-shan li (Eastern mountain li), the last village of that li being Lv-na-wùa (Black rock hamlet), the Chinese Lu-nan-wa 魯南瓦. Other villages of the same li are Hung-shui-t'ang 紅水塘, Wu-t'u 吳土 in the east where there are hot springs, Pen-ch'i-ch'eng 本其城 (the Mbue-tkhi-dza of the Na-khi; *mbue-tkhi* is the name of an evergreen oak, *Quercus semicarpifolia* var. *glabra*, with dark-green, glabrous leaves, and *dza* is a walled town hence the Chinese *ch'eng* 城, city), and Lu-tsui-lo 魯嘴落. La-ting 拉丁 is on the west bank of the Yangtze and the farthest east in Tung-shan li. North-west of it, situated on the slopes of a spur, is the hamlet of Jo-shui-t'ang 熱水塘, in the valley of the stream formed by the Pai Shui 白水 and Hei Shui 黑水. West, in a small valley among mountain spurs, is the village of Wu-t'u-t'ieh-ch'ang 吳土鐵廠.

Wu-lieh li. — South of Tung shan li is the Wu lieh li 吳烈里, the Na-khi Ghügh-lä. This joins Ta-yen li on the west, Tung-hsiang-ko li on the east, and Tung-yüan li 東元里 on the south. One of its principal villages is Nda-zaw, the Chinese Ta-jan 打然, which is situated in a valley or ravine in the mountains. The climate is very cold and the village is poor. Nda-zaw is renowned [762] for the many cases of suicide among its inhabitants, due mostly to illicit sexual intercourse, which usually ends in the suicide of both parties. The village is quite a distance from the town of Li-chiang and it takes a good part of the day for the peasants to reach the market. They return, men and women, during the night to their village, arriving usually at dawn. Bbue-na-k'o, the Tui-nao k'o 對腦壳 of the Chinese, another large village in this li, is situated on a terrace high above the Yangtze gorge. In the western part of the li are situated the hamlets of K'ai-wen-ts'un 開文村 and Yang-chia-teng 楊家登; these two villages are inhabited by Lä-bbu (Min-chia) tribespeople, the original inhabitants of the Nan-chao Kingdom.

Tung-hsiang-ko li. — East of Wu-lieh li is the Tung-hsiang-ko li. This extends south to the iron chain-bridge of Tzu-li-chiang, to the middle of the Yangtze on its eastern border. Its two largest villages, situated in the Yangtze valley, are Yü-mai-ti 玉麥地 and Tseng-ming 增明.

Tung-yüan li. – This li lies south of Wu-lieh li and forms a long wedge, the narrowest part being in the east where it comes to a point at the Tzu-li-chiang bridge. The broad part of the wedge adjoins Pai-ma li 白馬里 on the west. The important villages of that li are, in the extreme east, Yang-chien-shui 羊見水 and, in the central part, En (Ngai)-lieh-ts'un 恩烈村. In the western part, on a hill, is a Buddhist temple called Chin-shan Ssu 金山寺; also the villages Te-wei-ts'un 德爲村 and Hsi-lin-wa 西林瓦, the Na-khi Ssi-li-wùa. In the center of the latter village is the ancestral temple of the Mu family. A stream which has its source in the snow mountain and gathers all the various streams which flow south over the Li-chiang plain, flows through Tung-yüan li and is there called the Ch'ing-ch'i-yü Ho 清溪玉河. A stone bridge crosses it on the extreme west border of the li, where it adjoins Pai-ma li. The bridge is called the Tung-yüan ch'iao 東元橋 and was built by the Mu family during the Ming dynasty. A mountain extends from north to south along the western part of the li, from which the above-mentioned stream flows; it is called She Shan 蛇山 (Snake Mountain).

Pai-ma li. — To the west of Tung-yüan li and immediately south of Li-chiang, is the li of Pai-ma. This is called in Na-khi, Wua-gkan̲-ts'an̲. The most important village is Chung-i-ts'un 忠義村 (Na-khi, Muan̲-k'u, or the Lower or Southern gate). Other villages are San-chia-ts'un 三家村, the Na-khi Zhĕr-hăr-ndz(ĕr)-dzu (Where the green willow is born, or grows — on account of a large old willow tree which once grew there); the hamlet Chi-hsiang-ts'un 吉祥村, is divided into an upper 上 and a lower 下, the upper being called Ggŏ-boa-ts'an̲ and the lower Mbe-lü (actually central one); then Ch'ing-yün-ts'un 慶雲村, called Wua-gkan̲-ts'an̲, whence the li derives its Na-khi name.

Tung-ni-lo li. — On the extreme east of Tung-yüan li, extending south along the Yangtze, is the li of Tung-ni-lo 東你羅里, of which the largest village is Tung-ni-lo. The southern border of this li adjoins that of the Ho-ch'ing district 鶴慶縣. Wu-lieh li 吳烈里 adjoins Tung-ni-lo li on the east and extends south of Tung-yüan li; it is a continuation of the Wu-lieh li to the north of Tung-yüan li. It does not extend, however, to the Ho-ch'ing border but comes to a sharp point half the length of the eastern border of the li of Tung-ni-lo. The villages which belong here are Wu-lieh, in the north-western corner, and Ta-wa-ts'un 達瓦村 (the Da-wùa of the Na-khi), in the west central part.

Hsia La-p'iao li. — East of the southern Wu-lieh li is the li of Hsia La-p'iao 下剌漂里. It extends from north to south to the Ho-ch'ing border. Its important villages are, in the west central part, T'ao-li-ts'un 陶禮村, and in the central part the village of Chung-chi 中吉, called in Na-hki Chu-gyi. In the east central part is the village of Mei-tzu-tseng 美自增, the Na-khi Muan̲-dsu-dzä; to the south of the latter are the villages of Ta-le 打勒 (the Na-khi Nda-lā), San-yüan-ts'un 三元村, and Ssu-na-ku 四納故. The southernmost village is Mu-chien 木堅.

Ch'i-ho li. — The li of Ch'i-ho 七河里 (Seven rivers) is south of Tung-yüan li and extends east to Hsia La-p'iao. It is divided by the stream called Yang-kung Chiang 漾共江, which flows into the Yangtze south-east of Ho-ch'ing, the Lā-bbu dü of the Na-khi, encircling the Sung-kuei 松桂 mountains to the south.

One of the streams which form the Yang-kung River is the Yü Ho or Jade Stream, the Ngu-lu gyi of the Na-khi, which has its source in the springs at the foot of the Hsiang Shan where the Lung-wang Miao stands. At Shuang-shih ch'iao 雙石橋[4] the stream divides into three branches. One flows from Pai-ma li to La-p'iao, one through Pa-ho 八河 (a village south of Li-chiang),

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[4] Shuang-shih ch'iao [Double (arch) stone bridge] is two li north-west of Li-chiang.

361 101 and one through the center of Li-chiang (PLATE 53); all unite in Tung-yüan and join the Ch'ing-ch'i-yü Ho. Flowing south, the latter river enters the Ho-ch'ing district and forms the Yang-kung Chiang. (The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* writes 漾工江 and 東員里 instead of 東元里.) A bridge called the Lo-ma ch'iao 勒馬橋 (the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* writes Lan-ma ch'iao 爛馬橋) spans it in the central part of the li on the main road between Li-chiang and Ho-ch'ing. In the western half of Ch'i-ho li are the hamlets of Shang Ch'i-ho 上七河 (Upper Ch'i-ho) and Hsia Ch'i-ho 下七河 (Lower Ch'i-ho), the Na-khi Mbu-kv. In the southern part is the hamlet of Li-shou 麗首. In the eastern part of Ch'i-ho li, that is, the region east of the Yang-kung Chiang, are the following important villages: in the northern part, A-shih-ts'un 阿失村, south-west of it Wa-k'uan-tu 瓦寬獨, the Na-khi Wua-k'o-ndu (Tile kiln). South-west of the latter are the hamlets of T'ai-p'ing-ts'un 太平村 and Mei-ch'i-chia 梅溪甲, and to the east of it is the village of Mu-kuan-ts'un 木官村; south-west of the last named is the village of Mien-ch'ang-chia 面塲甲, and south of the latter again is the village of Mei-so-chia 梅所甲, while east lies the large village of Ch'i-ku-ts'un 溪谷村, almost on the border of Ho-ch'ing.

Shang La-p'iao li. — To the west of Ch'i-ho li is the li of Shang La-p'iao 上剌標 (Upper La-p'iao), which is south of Pai-ma li. The most important villages are Ch'ieh-k'o-tu 且可都, in Nakhi Ts'ă-k'o-ndu (Salt-hole there), in the southernmost part of the li, with the hamlet of Chung-ho-ts'un 中和村 to the east or south-east of it. In the northern part of the li, south of the borders of Pai-ma li, are the villages of Hsia-tien-wa 下甸瓦 and Shang-chi-ts'un 上吉村.

Mu-pao li. — To the west of Shang La-p'iao li is the li of Mu-pao (Mu-pao li 木保里). The north-westernmost village is Wen-feng-ts'un 文峯村, in Na-khi Mùan̠-bbu; more centrally located are Mu-pao 木保 and, south of it, Chung-ts'un 中村 (Central village). Ta-ts'un 大村 (Large village) is on the eastern border and south of it the hamlet of Ta-lü 達魯, the Na-khi Nda-lv.

La-sha-li. — To the north of Mu-pao li is the li of La-sha 剌沙里, of which the important villages are Ch'ang-shui 長水, the Na-khi Ghügh-k'o, in the south, and to the north-east of it the village of Shang-i-ts'un 尙義村; the lamasery of Wen-feng Ssu 文峯寺, called Mùan̠ bbu-nă in Na-khi, belongs to this li, so do the villages Mei-tzu-ts'un 梅子村 and Tz'u-man 茨滿, the Na-khi Tsi-man̠. On the western border, on the mountain slopes, is the hamlet of Lao-ch'eng-ts'un 老城村. At the extreme south-western end on the Li-chiang plain is situated the lake Să-bpi K̦hü the Chinese Hsi-pi Hai 西碧海 or Sheng-pi Hai 生碧海; the mountain to the south of it is called Wan-sung Shan 萬松山, on its lower slope is situated the temple of Cheng-chüeh Ssu 正覺寺.

Nan-shan li. — The longest of all the li is Nan-shan li 南山里 (Southern mountain li). It extends south of and encircles La-sha li, Mu-pao li, and Shang La-p'iao in part, and reaches also to the borders of Ch'i-ho. It is a very mountainous li with little level ground. A road leads over these mountains from Ho-ch'ing to Shih-ku 石鼓 on the Yangtze. The villages are mostly situated along this highway. From north to south they are: T'ieh-kan-shu 鐵甘書, which is,

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however, on the plain and in the north central part of the li and east of the road; along the road are Hua-i 花衣, Chi-tzu 戟子, Shan-shen-p'o 山神坡, Pen-shu 本書 and the southernmost, Kuo-mei-ku 果美古.

Hsiang-ko li. — To the north of this li is Hsiang-ko li 香閣里. There are two li of this name. This is the western one, the eastern being along the banks of the Yangtze where the iron chain-bridge at Tzu-li-chiang forms the border. This western Hsiang-ko li extends north to the banks of the Yangtze, and joins the li of A-hsi 阿喜. The latter extends north, and comprises the Yangtze valley west of the Li-chiang snow range. The northernmost village situated along the highway to Shih-ku is Sha-pa 沙壩, and to the east of it is Leng-shui-kou 冷水溝, which is on the border of A-hsi and Hsiang-ko li. To the west of it is Ching-k'ou-t'ang 箐口塘. Others to the south and not in the Yangtze valley are Hsiung-ku 雄古 (the Na-khi Khyü-gkv), Lu-wa 鹿瓦 and Chu-pi 竹彼. The region to the north of the cross-roads (one running from Ho-ch'ing to Shih-ku, and the other from Chien-ch'uan to Li-chiang) on the top of the plateau, commonly called Lo-shui-tung 落水洞, is still the li of Hsiang-ko, which also extends south of these cross-roads to the borders of Chien-ch'uan. The southernmost village is T'ang-lang-pa 螳螂壩 (Praying mantis meadow). Other villages in the southern part are Lü-pi-shan 律比山, T'ien-hung 天紅, Mu-hai-p'ing 沐海坪, and Tien-wei 甸尾 (not to be confused with the Tien-wei of the prefecture of Chien-ch'uan).

La-shih li. — To the east of the northern part of Hsiang-ko li is the li of La-shih 剌是里, comprising a small area adjoining the Huang Shan in the east, which mountain separates it from the Li-chiang plain.

West of the pass over the Huang Shan, beyond Huang-shan shao 黃山哨, is the village An-lo-ts'un 安樂村. To the north of An-lo-ts'un is the hamlet of Chi-hsiang (ch'iang)-ts'un 吉祥村, and to the north of the latter is the lamasery of Chi-yün Ssu 指雲寺. To the east of the lamasery, on the western foot-hills of the limestone range which forms the southernmost spur of the snow range, and which separates La-shih li from Shu-ho li, is the hamlet of Ta-yü-ts'un 打魚村. In the western part of the li is the hamlet of Chi-lo-ts'un 吉樂村 and north-east of it Yü-lo-ts'un 餘樂村.

A-hsi li. — The villages in the Yangtze valley which form the li of A-hsi have already been described in the journey from the snow range west to the Yangtze gorges and Bbĕr-ddĕr. This comprises all the li from the bend of the Yangtze eastwards, to Tzu-li-chiang where the iron chain-bridge spans the river. (*See* page 253.)

There remain now only the two northernmost li within the loop, which are separated by the highway which leads to Shang-feng-k'o 上俸可.

La-pao li 剌寶里. — This is the eastern one. It extends south as far as Hung-men-tu 紅門渡, thence north to Chiang-wa-tu 江凹渡 (also called Chiang-wai 江外), and Shang-feng-k'o 上俸可.

Ta-chü li 大具里. — This, the western li is large, exceedingly mountainous and densely forested; the most important village is Ta-ku 打鼓 (Na-khi, Nda-gv), on the terrace above the Yangtze and within the loop.

361 The snow range does not apparently belong to any separate li. The A-hsi li
101 eastern border line extends along the summit peaks of the range to the village of Jo-shui-t'ang 熱水塘, at the mouth (entrance) of the Yangtze gorge, where it cuts through the snow range. Beyond the last mentioned village on the right bank of the river, the territory belongs to the li of Ta-chü. Although on the right bank of the river there are only cliffs thousands of feet high, where it is impossible to obtain a foothold, still less room for a hut, house, or village, the prefectural map of Li-chiang gives several names which designate certain rocks or parts of the cliff. They are located in Ta-chü li and read from south to north as follows: Ch'ing-lung-shui 青龍水 (Azure dragon water), Ta-ngai-fang 大岩房 (Great cliff dwelling), Hei-feng-t'ang 黑風塘 (Black wind embankment), Chin-kuei-tzu 金櫃子 (Golden cupboard), and Chi-kuan-liang 雞冠梁 (Cock's-comb ridge). This last is at the exit of the gorge. From Ta-chü, which is identical with Ta-ku, a trail leads along the Yangtze, but quite a distance from the actual river bank, on the western slopes of the main range which fills the loop.

North-east of Ta ku (Nda-gv), is the village of Lao-pen-ts'un 老本村 (La-mbe), further north Sheng-se-lo 生色淋 (Sä-sä-lo), and finally Chu-ku 住古 (Tsu-gkv). From the main central trail which leads to Mba-yi-wùa (Ming-yin-wu 鳴音吾), a trail leads to Nda-gv, and here we encounter the villages of Pu-ku-tsu 布固足 (Bbu-gkv-dsu) and P'ei-tan 培單 (P'ä-da).

Chiu-ho li. — To the west of Hsiang-ko li is Chiu-ho li (Nine stream li) of which the principal village is Chiu-ho-kai 九河街. The southernmost is Hui-lung-chia 廻龍甲, directly north of Chien-ch'uan. At the foot of the mountains which hem in the Chiu-ho valley on the west, are many villages of which the most important are, omitting the southernmost hamlet already mentioned: Ch'ing-chiang-chia 青江甲, Lung-ying-chia 龍應甲, Chi-lai-chia 吉來甲, A-ch'a-chia 阿差甲, Tien-t'ou-chia 甸頭甲 and Li-tzu-yüan 李子園. The border of Chiu-ho li passes through the top of the mountain range of which Lao-chün Shan 老君山, some distance to the west, is the highest peak. The villages situated to the west of that range, and still belonging to Chiu-ho li, are, from south to north, Sung-p'ing-pa 松平壩 in the south-western corner of the li, Wei-nan-hsiang 味南鄉, Ta-ngai-ts'un 打岩村, Jo-shui-t'ang, Shih-hung-shan 石紅山, Ma-p'ing-pa 馬平壩, Ta-p'iao-ts'un 大票村 and Leng-shui-kou. On the main highway coming from Chien-ch'uan, to the south of Chiu-ho-kai, is the hamlet of Kao-meng-ho 高猛河. To the north is Kuan-shang-ts'un 關上村, and the last hamlet is Chiu-ho-kuan 九河關 (Chiu-ho pass).

Shih-ku li. — To the west of Chiu-ho li is Shih-ku li 石鼓里, of which Shih-ku, the Na-khi La-ba or La-ba wùa-gkv, south of the bend of the Yangtze, is the most important village. The south-western part of the li terminates at the border of Ch'iao-t'ou li 橋頭里, which adjoins the high mountain known as Lao-chün Shan 老君山 in the west, the Li-chiang — Lan-p'ing hsien 蘭坪縣 border passing through its summit.

The Shih-ku li consists of a long valley watered by the La-ba gyi, (Ch'ung-chiang Ho 衝江河), with the Wang-chiang Shan 望江山 forming its south-eastern border. An affluent actually has its source in Lao-chün Shan and flows along the western slopes of Wang-chiang Shan, while the main stream has its source in La-ba Ngyu (Mt. La-ba) to the west of Shih-ku. and forms the main 361 valley of Shih-ku li. The villages on the south bank of the stream are, from west to east, T'ao-hua-ts'un 桃花村, Shih-t'ou-ts'un 石頭村, A-na-wa 阿那瓦, 101 Chu-wu-ts'un 竹武村, Ch'ou-chung-ts'un 丑中村, and Chu-yüan-ts'un 竹園村 a little west of Shih-ku. On the northern bank of the stream, from east to west, are the hamlets of Kao-ku-ts'un 高古村 and Ta-chu-kou 打朱溝; among the mountains is the hamlet of Shih-chih 時支; thence again on the valley floor and the foot of the hills, Cheng-hsiung-ku 正雄古, Pai-ting-ts'un 白丁村, Pan-p'iao-ts'un 板梟村, Lo-lo-chai 猓猓寨 and Lo-kuo-ching 鑼鍋箐.

Ch'iao-t'ou li and Lu-tien. — Ch'iao-t'ou li consists also of a valley watered by a stream called the Ch'iao-t'ou Ho 橋頭河, but it is much more sparsely populated. The south-western corner of this li converges with Lao-chün Shan, and is bordered on the west by Lu-tien li 魯甸里.

In this *li* Lu-tien (Na-khi Lu-dü) is the largest village. Directly south of Lu-tien, near the Ch'iao-t'ou li border, is the hamlet of Ta-mi-ch'u 打米杵 (Pounding rice pestle). It was also called the Ta-mi-ch'u 打米處 (Place of the pounding of the rice), for all the peasants of the region used to come to pound their rice there. In Na-khi it is called Nda-muan-ch'u. (*See* p. 300).

Chü-tien li. — To the north and east of Lu-tien li and Ch'iao-t'ou li is Chü-tien li 巨甸里, the largest village of which is Chü-tien on the Yangtze. The northernmost hamlet is T'a-dza, (T'a-ch'eng 塔城), and the northern border of the li is T'a-ch'eng Kuan 塔城關 (T'a-ch'eng Pass) (PLATE 155). Opposite T'a-ch'eng is a small ferry which plies east to the Chung-tien territory east of the Yangtze, and is known as T'a-ch'eng tu 塔城渡. To the west of Chü-tien li is the territory of the prefectural city of Wei-hsi.

Most of the villages, as may be surmised, owing to the very mountainous nature of the country, are in the Yangtze valley, and these villages have already been mentioned in their proper place.

THE ANCIENT DISTRICT OF T'UNG-AN 通安州

In the twenty-second year of the period Chih-yüan (1285), the Chün min 173 Tsung-kuan fu, or the Yamen of the military and civil Governor of the Circuit of Li-chiang was abolished, and in its stead there was established the office of 634 Hsüan-fu-ssu, or Pacification Commissioner. The latter according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 34b, resided at La-pa-ts'un 剌巴村 this is the present Shih-ku, then under the control of Chü-chin chou 巨津州. Afterwards it was transferred to the east of the ancient T'ung-an chou in the territory called San-tien 三甸. The Hsüan-fu-ssu controlled the fu-magistracy of Pei-sheng 北勝; also seven chou, viz., Lang-ch'ü 浪渠, Yung-ning 永寧, Shun chou 順州, T'ung-an 通安, Pao-shan 寶山, Lan chou 蘭州 and Chü-chin 巨津; the hsien of Lin-hsi 臨西, the present Wei-hsi, was also in his dominion.

At the time of Kublai Khan's arrival (in 1253 or the beginning of 1254), in the territory known as Li-chiang, the town of Li-chiang did probably not exist, but the Circuit of Li-chiang 麗江路 was established in the 13th year of Kublai Khan's reign as Emperor of China (1276). Apparently the nearest place of

PART IV

AREA WEST AND NORTH-WEST OF LI-CHIANG

CHAPTER I

FROM LI-CHIANG TO CH'I-TSUNG 其宗

101 The western and north-western region of Yün-nan inhabited by the Na-khi tribe comprises the valley of the Yangtze, from the town of Shih-ku 石鼓 (La-ba in Na-khi), west of Li-chiang, to the village of Ch'i-tsung (Na-khi, Gyi-dzu; Tibetan, Je-drong) in the north on the Yangtze. Ch'i-tsung is beyond the ancient T'ieh-ch'iao 鐵橋 (Iron bridge) which once spanned the river; it is now under the magistracy of Wei-hsi. The region to and including the hamlet of La-p'u, on a western tributary which debouches at the village of Ch'i-tsung into the Yangtze, is also inhabited by them. To the north of La-p'u are still a few more villages inhabited by Na-khi, but the remainder of the territory towards Kar-ri (the Keng-li 更里 of the Chinese) and Pai-mang Shan 白芒山 is inhabited mainly by Tibetans.[1]

I. THE SALWEEN-MEKONG AND MEKONG-YANGTZE WATERSHEDS

The Mekong valley, separated from the Yangtze in the south by the Li-ti-p'ing 栗地坪 Range, and to the north by the Hung-p'o Mountains 紅坡山 and Pai-mang Shan, is inhabited by Na-khi from A-dü (A-ti 阿滴) south of Wei-hsi on the Yung-ch'un Ho 永春河, which debouches into the Mekong, as far north as the village of Chang-lung, written lChang-lung (Willow valley) half a day's journey beyond Ya-k'a-lo 雅卡洛 (Yar-kha-lo) in Hsi-k'ang. To be sure, not all the villages on either bank of the Mekong are inhabited by Na-khi, for they often alternate with Tibetan villages, or Tibetans and Na-khi live together as in Tz'u-chung 茨中 on the west bank. The Li-chiang border extends as far south-west as T'ung-tien 通甸 on the T'ung-tien Ho, and north-west to Shu-miao 樹苗 on the east bank of the Mekong, with Lu-tien 魯甸 and T'o-chih 拖枝, typical Na-khi villages, south of the Li-ti-p'ing divide, which is also the border between the Li-chiang and Wei-hsi districts. The Salween valley (Nu chiang 怒江 also written Lu chiang 潞江), is mainly inhabited by the Li-su and Nu-tzu 怒子 tribes, the latter extending up the

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[1] This mountain has been given by all previous travelers as the White horse mountain, or Pai-ma Shan 白馬山. This is due in part to the Na-khi being unable to pronounce a final consonant. *Mang* they would pronounce *ma*, which has been taken to mean *ma* 馬, hence the White horse Mountain. The Tibetan name of the mountain is, however, Pad-ma pronounced Pe-ma, meaning lotus, and it is thus possible that the Chinese have transcribed the Tibetan name of the mountain, as in their literature it is called Pai-mang Shan 白芒山, more correctly 白鋩山 (White sharp-pointed Mountain). In the *Yün-nan Pei-cheng-chih* 雲南備徵志, ch. 18, p. 3b, the mountain is called Pai-mang Shan 白鋩山. The character *mang* here can only be interpreted as "a sharp point," hence White sharp-pointed Mountain.

[p. 275]

● 101 Salween into Tsha-rong in south-east Tibet, where the village of Sang-tha (Sung-ta 松打 in Chinese), is still inhabited by Nu-tzu.

*133 The territory in its inhabitable portion, lies in the valleys of the Mekong, Yangtze, Yung-ch'un Ho and the smaller tributaries of the Yangtze and the Mekong. The remainder is composed of the many mountain ranges separating these valleys; they reach their greatest height, 21,000–22,000 feet, to the west of the Mekong, where they form the Yün-nan — Tibet border. As we go northward the altitude increases, from Shih-ku on the Yangtze, at 6,200 feet, to Tê-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) at 11,500 feet, one of the highest inhabited places in the north of Yün-nan. We have here a rise of 5,300 feet in a distance of 1,100 li (330 miles), 17 stages from Shih-ku.

132 *133 The high mountain ranges which separate the Salween, Mekong and Yangtze — to mention the three longest rivers only — all reach their greatest height at about the same latitude (28° 20′); they act as rain screens, collecting the monsoon clouds which sweep across from the Assam plateau and assure a plentiful rainfall. To the north of the mighty snow peaks the land is parched and arid, a rocky waste. A rope could be stretched between the rain belt and the arid zone, so close do they adjoin each other. Looking south from above Yang-tsa 羊咱 the Mekong valley is filled with clouds, mist and rain, while a turquoise-blue sky extends from horizon to horizon in the north. South of Yang-tsa are vast forests, carpeted with moss, north a parched, rocky wilderness. The heaviest rainfall, as well as the first snow, is caught by the Salween-Irrawadi divide (Nam-ch'iu or Ch'iu Chiang 浗江 watershed). Next comes the Mekong-Salween divide, called the Kha-wa-kar-po Range (Chinese, Ssu-mang Ta-hsüeh-shan 四蟒大雪山), 21,000–22,000 feet in height and distant only 36 li from the Salween as the crow flies. While both these ranges and their passes are covered with snow by October, the Mekong-Yangtze divide, which reaches its highest point in Pai-mang Shan, about 20,000 feet in height, is still free of snow in December, and several species of Gentians enjoy a glorious sunshine and blue sky. Thus do the western ranges gather all the moisture.

The three mighty rivers, which all have their sources on the high plateau of Tibet, flow parallel in deep trenches from north to south, hemmed in by huge snow ranges. It is only 50 miles from the Yangtze to the Salween as the crow flies, but undertake the journey and it will occupy a fortnight. Their valleys vary greatly in depth, the deepest part of the Mekong valley at the latitude of A-tun-tzu being 10,000–12,000 feet. With the exception of the Salween, the climate of this region is healthy, although malaria is common in the rain-belt of the Mekong.

131 To reach this region is an arduous undertaking, for it is about the most isolated in Asia. Sinkiang is certainly farther away, yet motor cars and aeroplanes bring it close to civilization. But here perhaps never will the sound of a motor horn be heard, for to construct a road over such mountains and deep gorges is a prohibitive undertaking. And planes? Let it be said that there is not even level space enough to pitch a tent, much less accommodate an aeroplane.

Thus it will remain one of the last regions to be brought close to civilization. Its scenery is unsurpassed and awaits the lover of nature, but he must pay the price.

*487 136 *135 *137 broad and so is the valley. It has here many large islands on which numerous water-fowl, representing many species, disport themselves from autumn to spring. Most common are the Brahmini ducks, or sheldrake, and two species of geese. Chü-tien is now situated in what was once the ancient department of Chü-chin chou,[27] and is perhaps identical with it. The Li-chiang records state in one place, that Chü-tien is 216 li north-west of Li-chiang and in another place that Chü-tien T'a-ch'eng is 300 li from Li-chiang. The distance for ancient Chü-chin chou is given also as 300 li north-west of Li-chiang, so it must be one and the same district.

173 •101 The Li-chiang records have this to say about the ancient Chü-chin district: "Its ancient name was Lo-po-chiu-t'an [the *Yün-nan Tien-hsi* calls it Lo-tzu 羅姿 and the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* Lo-p'o 羅婆] and the Tibetans dwelled to the west of it." The *Tien-hsi* says (Vol. 1, fol. 28) that in ancient days Chü-chin chou was the land of the Hsi-fan, and that during the T'ang dynasty it was occupied by two tribes of Man (Barbarians) called the Fu 伏 and the Lu 獹, and afterwards their land was captured by the Mo-so-man (Na-khi) and incorporated into the Nan-chao (Southern Kingdom) and made subject to the Li-chiang Chieh-tu 麗江節度 (Government of Li-chiang). At the beginning of the Mongol dynasty it became part of the empire, and in the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277) in the Mongol dynasty there was

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[27] Regarding Chü-chin chou, the *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, fol. 21a, states that "in ancient days it was the land of the Hsi-fan. In the T'ang dynasty it was the Lo-p'o-chiu-t'an 羅婆九賧. The P'u 濮 and Lu 獹 tribes dwelled there. Afterwards the Mo-so tribe captured their territory by force."

It is interesting to read in the above-mentioned work on p. 22b, under the heading "Pai-ma-chai 白馬寨," that "Pai-ma-chai (White horse village) was situated two li south of Chü-chin chou. The T'ang history relates that the Chieh Ch'iang 姐羌, who were the descendants of the Pai-ma-ti 白馬氐, dwelled there, hence the name Pai-ma-chai." We have here direct proof that the Ch'iang, of whom the Na-khi are descendants, dwelled in the territory now occupied by the latter under their own tribal name.

The Chieh Ch'iang were the descendants of the great Ch'iang ancestor Yüan-chien 爰劍, commonly known as Wu-i 無弋. The sons and grandsons of the latter separated into branches, establishing in all 150 tribes. Nine tribes lived west of the head-waters of the Ssu-chi Ho 賜支河. (This, in the *Yü Kung*, is called the Hsi-chi 析支. The latter is, however, the name of a mountain, so the Ssu-chi Ho may be a stream which had its source in that range.) Some tribes dwelled to the north of the borders of Shu Han 蜀漢 (Ssu-ch'uan). Fifty-two tribes of the 150 were neither numerous nor strong and thus could not exist as separate tribes, so they dispersed; others had no descendants and died out, while others again went far afield. The Pai-ma Ch'iang lived in the territory of the Shu Han, others were the Mao-niu 髦牛 (Yak) Yüeh-sui Ch'iang 越嶲羌. Li-chiang was the Yüeh-sui territory during the Han and Hou Han, or Later Han dynasty, and it was in that period that the Na-khi (Mo-so) first settled in Li-chiang.

Five generations after Wu-i came Yen 研. He was exceedingly brave and strong, and afterwards the tribe was given his name. Thirteen generations after Yen came Shao-tang 燒當. He was also brave and strong. His sons and grandsons were numerous and they took his name for that of their tribe. Several decades after the submission of the Shan-chieh Ch'iang 彡姐羌, all the I 夷 (Barbarians) submitted and the borders were no more blocked.

The records of the Hsi Ch'iang 西羌 (Western Ch'iang) in the *Hou Han Shu* (History of the Later Han dynasty) tell that in the time of Yüan Ti 元帝 (48–33 B.C.) the Shan-chieh Ch'iang plundered Lung-hsi 隴西 in Kan-su, and the Yu chiang-chün 右將軍, (Junior general) Feng 馮 was sent by Imperial order to attack and bring them to submission.

Translated from the *Fang-yü-hui-pien-pien-i-tien* 方輿彙編邊裔典, ch. 47; *Ch'iang-pu-hui-k'ao* 羌部彙考, fol. 26a–b.

established in the Chiu-t'an 九賧 (Nine districts) the Department of Chü- 173
chin, subject to the Circuit of Li-chiang (Li-chiang Lu 麗江路). During the 101
Ming dynasty it was still called Chü-chin chou, but has since been abolished as a separate department, and belongs now to the prefecture of Li-chiang.

The Li-chiang records say that the chief of the Mo-so-man dwelled at Chü-chin, and it became part of the Empire in the third year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253), and was called Ta-chü-chin (Great ford) and the juncture of the Tibetan and Nan-chao Kingdoms. In the 22nd year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1285) a Hsüan-fu-ssu 宣撫司 (Chieftain of the frontier tribes) was established at Chü-chin chou, and was later transferred to T'ung-an chou, to the east of Li-chiang, in the San-tien 三甸 district.

Chü-tien used to be called Chü-tien hsun 汎 (Chü-tien guard station). Opposite Chü-tien on the Chung-tien side is a mountain called Shih-erh-lan-kan Shan 十二欄杆山 (Twelve balustrade Mountain), and at its foot is situated the hamlet of Shang-so-i 上所邑.

6. FROM CHÜ-TIEN TO CH'I-TSUNG 其宗

From Chü-tien the road descends to the river bank and continues along 487*
the sandy, dusty stream-bed and thence up a bluff, occasionally barricaded 133*
to check the inroads of Tibetan bandits. Here a view is obtained over Chü- 137*
tien and the broad Yangtze valley looking south. The next village is 15 li from Chü-tien and is called Pai-lien 白蓮 (White lotus), and Bä-lä-'a in Na-khi (H-M., Polian). Five li beyond it is the hamlet of 'A-lo (An-lo 安樂), and next door to it a smaller hamlet called Dtv-lo (Te-lo 德羅; H-M., Dolö). The valley is here very broad, and a few li beyond the placid river makes a broad bend. Below Dtv-lo on the Chung-tien side is the hamlet of Ggŏ-lv-wùa (H-M., Keluan; Major Davies, Keluwan). Here the current is only about 0.8 miles per second.

On the floor of the Chü-tien basin there are thick deposits of red sands, while the northern corner of the basin is enclosed by black schists, and from Pai-lien to Chü-tien by green schists (GREGORY).

We now come to the rather large village of Muan-k̇hü-ndu (Lower Khü-ndu; Hsia-heng-t'u 下亨土), situated near extensive fields through which the trail passes. Near here in the Yangtze is a triangular rock islet about 150 feet high and crowned by a temple. The valley floor is broad and the surrounding mountains low, only about 2,000-2,500 feet in height and well covered with pine trees. From here we ascend to a small plateau, and thence to a pine-forested bluff composed of conglomerate, and descend to the hamlet of Ggŏ-k̇hü-ndu (Upper Khü-ndu; Shang-heng-t'u 上亨土; H-M., Gohenda;). A level road for a short stretch brings us to the foot of a high spur which we climb, the slopes being pine-covered; a zigzag trail leads to a long valley which extends deeply into the hills, having the appearance as if it would lead directly into the Mekong to the west. Blue ridges are visible far in the distance. In this valley are situated the hamlets of Heng-tu-lo-ku 亨獨羅固 (Pa-tien 巴甸 is on the hills), I-chih 以支 and Lung-pa 龍巴.

Here there are two trails, one leading up the valley, and one descending to the stream, which we cross over a wooden plank bridge and follow along the

CHAPTER IV

The South-Eastern Region of Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu)

•101 *133 The region from Te-ch'in 德欽 (A-tun-tzu) to Ch'i-tsung, Tibetan Je-drong (rJe-grong)[1] comprises the Yangtze drainage basin which lies in latitude 28° 30′—27° 35′. The Yangtze flows throughout in an arid, narrow gorge, flanked on the east, especially in the neighborhood of Pen-tzu-lan, by high, treeless, barren mountains which appear to be sandstone, one even reaching a height of 18,000 feet. This range is in Hsi-k'ang 西康, and more particularly in Hsiang-ch'eng 鄉城 country, inhabited by wild, lawless Tibetans known as the Hsiang-ch'eng-wa, or Chha-threng, written Phyag-phreng,[2] the terror not only of Chinese and tribespeople, but of other Tibetan clans as well, even of the fearless Gang-kar-ling (Gangs-dkar-gling).[3]

Hsiang-ch'eng was established as a magistracy in the 34th year of Kuang-hsü (1908), and was called Ting-hsiang hsien 定鄉縣, but in name only, it is left severely alone by the Chinese, and the Tibetan outlaws do just as they please.

The territory here described includes the 20,000 feet snow range Pai-mang Shan, immediately south of Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu), and two other high passes further south: the Kar-ri and the Ponge La. The valley between the two passes is called Yon-dze-khà, its stream debouches near Rong-sha (Lo-sha 洛沙) into the Yangtze. South of the Ponge La is a maze of mountains, forested with pines, etc., on the eastern slopes, and spruces and fir on the wetter western slopes.

The country north of Ch'i-tsung is mainly inhabited by Tibetans; those living near Ch'i-tsung are called the Mo-so Ku-tsung 麼些古宗 and those [241] around Pen-tzu-lan, Ch'ou Ku-tsung 臭古宗 (Plate 202). They are all agriculturists, but as there is little arable land except such as is available on the river terraces of the Yangtze and Yon-dze-khà, they just manage to exist.

*133 The volume of water carried by the Yangtze is considerably larger than that of either the Salween or Mekong, and the current slower. Rapids occur below Chu-pa-lung 竹巴籠 (south of Ba-thang) where the river is reduced to a width of 100 yards. The barren valley slopes are composed of sandstone. The few hamlets in this arid gorge are situated on narrow shelves of alluvial detritus, with even occasional sand dunes. At Pen-tzu-lan the Yangtze is about 100 yards wide, and flows at an elevation of 7,100 feet. Here are rubble terraces covered with soil partly cultivated. Below Ch'i-tsung the character of the landscape changes completely. We have a broad valley floor with large fertile terraces, forested mountain slopes, and a quietly flowing river until Shih-ku is reached.

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[1] *See:* p. 292.

[2] ཕྱག་ཕྲེང [3] གངས་དཀར་གླིང

[p.342]

PART V

YUNG-NING TERRITORY: ITS HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

CHAPTER I

History and Boundaries of Yung-ning 永寧

1. THE NATIVE CHIEFTAINCY

Unlike the Li-chiang district which has been under direct Chinese control since 1723, when the native prefecture was abolished, and the Na-khi chiefs lost their power and were demoted, the Yung-ning chiefs, relatives of the former Na-khi chiefs of Li-chiang, have retained to this day their semi-independence. They are only nominally under Chinese rule, being subject to the prefectural city of Yung-sheng 永勝 (Yung-pei 永北), 450 li to the south of Yung-ning. 101 173

Before the coming of Khublai Khan (Hu-pi-lieh) to Yung-ning in 1253, Hli-dü (Yung-ning) was a wild country. A group of families would live together on a hill top, at feud with similar groups on other hills. Whichever was the stronger lorded it over the rest. This condition is said to have continued even after Khublai Khan had conquered the territory and established his officers to rule it. People went ploughing with bows and arrows fastened to their loins.

There were originally eight Hli-khin (Na-khi) [1] family names, of which five remain to this day. Three have become extinct and forgotten. The ancient Na-khi name of the T'u-ssu (native chief) family was Ngoa. The family names existing to-day are Hsi, Ho, Bbu and Ya. The Li-chiang Na-khi had only two family names, Mu and Ho. The former was the name of the ruling family, the latter that of the peasants. The present family name of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu is A 阿 and is said to have originated in the following manner: During the period of Ming Yung-lo 永樂 (A.D. 1403–1424) one of the ruling Yung-ning chiefs went to the capital in audience. He had inherited his commission to rule from the days of the Mongol dynasty, but had never been appointed by proper Imperial letters patent; these he was anxious to obtain. As he was kneeling before the Imperial presence he was asked his name; not understanding the question, he replied, with folded hands, "A," which in the Hli-khin language is as much as to say "I do not understand." Thereupon the Emperor conferred on him the family name A. [551]

In ancient days, according to the records of its chiefs, Yung-ning territory was considerably larger, and extended to within two stages of Li-hua 裏化 (Li-t'ang 裏塘), in the north, and included nearly all the land now known

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[1] The name *Hli-khin̲* is derived from *Hli:* the name of the Yung-ning plain and *khin:* man or people. The final n̲ is very nasal, as is the foregoing vowel; it is the Na-khi, *khi*. The Hli-khin̲ are a clan of the Na-khi, as are the Zhĕr-khin̲.

101 173 as Mu-li 木裏 (or Mi-li, as the aboriginal inhabitants call it), as well as the present Ch'ien-so 前所, and Tso-so 左所 territory now partly in Hsi-k'ang and partly in Ssu-ch'uan. The T'u-ssu of the two latter districts are relatives of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu. The disintegration of the once large Yung-ning territory came about in the following manner: Brothers or other close male relatives of the Yung-ning chiefs were sent to rule the smaller districts in the Yung-ning territory, while female relatives were given in marriage to the La family 喇氏 which had settled in Tso-so land in Ssu-ch'uan; their husbands were thereupon appointed to rule that district as sub-magistrates under the Yung-ning chiefs.

Then there appeared a Living Buddha, a Tibetan from Chha-mdo (Ch'a-mu-to 察木多; Chhab-mdo)[2] in Tibet who belonged to the Yellow Lama sect (Gelug-pa དགེ་ལུགས་པ).[3] He settled amongst the Hsi-fan in Yung-ning territory with the idea of converting the Yung-ning chiefs and their subjects to the Yellow Church, for they were adherents of the Black Bön sect, or Shamanists. All of them were converted to the Yellow sect through the influence of the Huo-fu 活佛 (Incarnation) from Chha-mdo, except the Tso-so people who to this day are adherents of the Bön or Black Lama sect. His mission accomplished, the Buddha wanted to return to Chha-mdo, but the people of Yung-ning said: "Now you have taught us and we have become enlightened. Before you came we were ignorant as cattle. Do not leave us but stay in our midst and continue your good work." The then ruling chief of Yung-ning addressed the Huo-fu saying: "If you will remain among us we will give you the territory to the north of Yung-ning [the present day Mu-li] in perpetuity." The Huo-fu consented and his title became Mu-li sPrul-sku-dang-po[4] (The first Mu-li T'ul-ku or Higher incarnation of Mu-li).

In the 40th year of K'ang-hsi (1710) the Ch'ien-so and Tso-so sub-chiefs went to pay tribute to the court in Peking and were thereupon appointed as independent (of Yung-ning) T'u-pai-hu 土百戶 and T'u-ch'ien-hu 土千戶 respectively, and were given a seal. Thus the Ch'ien-so and Tso-so lands were lost to Yung-ning. It is however recorded in the *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* that the Tso-so and Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu had been appointed to their positions as early as the Wan-li period (1573–1620).

2. FORMER EXTENT AND LATER DIVISIONS

In the seventh year of the period Yung-cheng (1729), the successor of the incarnation who had settled in the land presented to him by the Yung-ning chief, went to Peking in audience with the emperor who according to precedent wished to give him a seal and appoint him hereditary An-fu-ssu 安撫司 of Mu-li. The Buddha however declined saying:

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[2] ཆབ་མདོ

[3] His name was rJe-blo-gros-chhos-skyong རྗེ་བློ་གྲོས་ཆོས་སྐྱོང.

[4] མུ་ལི་སྤྲུལ་སྐུ་དང་པོ

"I am a lama and my affairs are not of this world, but if His Majesty approved he would suggest his steward who was of Mongol origin, and who lived at Pa-erh 巴洱 or 八耳 in the south-east of Mu-li, to be appointed as the hereditary chief."[5] His name was Liu-tsang-t'u-tu 六藏塗都 a Chinese transcription of bLo-bzang-mthu-stobs བློ་བཟང་མཐུ་སྟོབས, pronounced Lo-zang Thu-tob.

Thereupon the Emperor appointed the latter, and gave him the title of An-fu-ssu (Pacification commissioner) and the name Hang 項.[6] (PLATE

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[5] The Chinese Pa-erh is a transcription of the Hsi-fan (Ch'ra-me) Pa-ĕr, the Na-khi Mbĕr. The Tibetans call it Bar-ri written hBar-ri འབར་རི་; it is really the name of a mountain which surrounds the little plain on which stands the palace of the lay-brother of the Mu-li King. Originally only a small house stood there with three families living around it. It was the homestead of the Mongol ancestors of the Mu-li King and is known as hBar-ri-ldan (འབར་རི་ལྡན). The last word is Ch'ra-me and is pronounced *dän* or *den*; its final n̲ is nasal. The meaning of the word is "place," or the place of Bar-ri. It is east of K'u-lu 枯榆 or K'ang-wu 康塢 (in Tibetan, Khe-'ong ཁེ་འོང). The former is the Chinese name, the latter the Hsi-fan — Mu-li name of the place where the lamasery called bDe-wa-chan-bsod-nams-dar-rgyas-gling བདེ་བ་ཅན་བསོད་ནམས་དར་རྒྱས་གླིང is situated.

[6] The name Hang does not, however, appear in the Genealogy until the year 1781. It was only later that his successors were given the title of Hsüan-wei-ssu 宣慰司 which is also the equivalent of Pacification commissioner with the slight difference that the office is a rather temporary one. *Hsüan* simply means the proclaiming of a policy by the Government — in this case the policy of *wei*, that is, pacifying or comforting (the tribes). His Tibetan title was rgyal-po (king). The last Mu-li T'u-ssu (Lama King) was treacherously murdered in cold blood on September 10th, 1934, by a Ssu-ch'uan militarist by the name of Li Chang-p'u 李章甫 whose title is Tsung-chien 總監 (Inspector-general) and who holds his appointment by the former self-appointed governor of Ssu-ch'uan Liu Wen-hui 劉文輝 now Governor of Hsi-k'ang.

The late Mu-li King's complete name and titles were: 任命自在佛敏吉呼圖克圖一等文虎章現任川邊佛教會援陸軍中將銜世襲木裏宣慰司開惠鹽源 "Hang Tz'u-cheng-cha-pa 項此稱扎巴, by appointment a self-existent Buddha, Min-chi Hu-t'u-k'o-t'u; first grade of the order of the Striped Tiger, former leader of the Buddhist Church in the office of the Occupation commissioner; actual Investigation officer in matters relating to the affairs of the uncivilized tribes. Honorary Major-General of the army and hereditary Pacification Commissioner of Mu-li. Honorific: Opening of mercy; Yen-yüan [the district magistracy in Ssu-ch'uan to which Mu-li belongs]." The present title of the Mu-li ruler is: Mu-li Hsüan-wei-ssu chien i wu chih-hui chung-yang chiao fei chün ti-erh lu chün liang Yen Chiu-lung fang Ssu-ling-pu 木裏宣慰司兼夷務指揮中央勦匪軍第二路軍兩鹽九龍防司令部.

At Min-chi 敏吉 a small place two days south of Li-t'ang in the Mo-la-shog country inhabited by Tibetans called Mo-la-shog-pa མོ་ལ་ཤོག་པ, is a Sakya (Sa-skya) lamasery (White Lama sect) of which the late Mu-li King was abbot, and a minor incarnation called hJam-dbyangs rnam-sprul འཇམ་དབྱངས་རྣམ་སྤྲུལ. (The new Min-chi Huo-fu is a nephew of Chang Ta-chi 張大吉 the commander of the Mu-li forces and brother-in-law of the late Mu-li King, he is 8 years old and like his uncle a Mo-la-shog Tibetan.) He was called from Min-chi to rule Mu-li in 1923 after the death of his brother who was the Lama King of Mu-li. The late king ruled Mu-li during the minority of his nephew Hang Tz'u-ch'eng-sung-tien 項此稱松典 (in Tibetan, Grags-pa-bsam-gtan གྲགས་པ་བསམ་གཏན), the then heir to the Lama kingship of Mu-li. The boy, now about 30 years of age, was kidnapped by the murderer of the late king, but was released in the winter of 1935 without paying ransom, and has returned to Mu-li (his captor having fled). Hang Sung-tien who became King of Mu-li has now re-

101|173 211). Thus came about the division of the once rich territory of Yung-ning, for Mu-li is rich in gold. The Londa Stream (Lung-ta Ho 攏打河), an affluent of the Zho-Chhu, is a gold-bearing stream, and all the territory to the north and west of it is especially rich in placer gold, while there is none in Yung-ning territory, a rather poor country.

3. NATIVE AND CHINESE NAMES

Yung-ning is mainly inhabited by a branch of the Na-khi tribe. They call themselves Hli-khin̲ (people of Hli), after the Yung-ning plain which they call Hli-dü. The Na-khi of Li-chiang call them Lü-khi people of Lü or Lü-dü, *i.e.*, the land of Lü; the ancient Chinese name of this territory, Lou-t'ou 樓頭 may be a phonetic rendering of the former. They call the Na-khi of Li-chiang, Yu-gv-khin (people of Yu-gv, the ancient name of Li-chiang in the Hli-dü or Yung-ning language). The Li-chiang Na-khi, however, call Li-chiang Yi-gv dü or Yi-gv, this has reference to the river-surrounded tract of land on which Li-chiang is situated; *yi* stands for the name of the Yangtze, *gv* is a box in Na-khi, and *dü* means land; thus the name would signify a parcel of land similar to a box surrounded by the Yi or Yi-bi (Yangtze). (*See also* Geography of the district of Li-chiang.)

The Chinese are called Si-li-a-ha by the Yung-ning people, and the Tibetans, Pu-lu-wu-dzu. The Mu-li Hsi-fan call the Na-khi Nya-me as well as Zho-gu or Shu-gu, and the Tibetans Ká-me or Gá-me, and themselves they call Ch'ra-me (pronounced P'ron-mö in Mu-li and Pshen-mi in Ku-lu) which the Chinese render Chia-mi 呷迷; the Na-khi call the Mu-li Hsi-fan, Boa; the term Hsi-fan may be regarded a generic one comprising several tribes, and simply means Barbarians of the West.[7]

The Mu-li Hsi-fan call the Chinese Shöh and the Hli-khin̲, Lä-mö or Le-meh, the Lo-lo Lu-lu, and the Li-su Mi-nòh.

4. YUNG-PEI SUB-PREFECTURAL RECORDS, CH. 7

173 The *Yung-pei Chih-li-t'ing chih* 永北直隸廳志 (Independent sub-prefectural records), ch. 7, pp. 32b–34b, has the following to say about Yung-ning: "The Yung-ning T'u-chih-fu 永寧土知府 (Yung-ning native prefecture) is situated north of the governing city of Yung-pei a distance of 450 li, and is a

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signed and as the lay male line of the Hang family has died out, the son of the sister of the late Mu-li King by name Hang Sung-tien-ch'un-p'in 項松典椿品 whose father is a Mo-la-shog Tibetan and the commander-in-chief of the late Mu-li King's forces has now been selected as ruler of Mu-li.

[7] The *Hsi-ning fu hsin-chih* 西寧府新志, ch. 19, fol. 1a, states that the Hsi-fan are synonymous with the Hsi-ch'iang 西羌 tribes and that they are very numerous, extending from Kan-su to Ssu-ch'uan and Yün-nan. This statement would indicate that the Hsi-ch'iang are the ancestors of the Hsi-fan, similar to the Mao-niu Yüeh-sui Ch'iang who are probably the ancestors of the Mo-so or Na-khi. It would appear that most of the tribes whose language classes them as belonging to the Tibeto-Burman stock, as the Lo-lo, Hsi-fan, Na-khi etc., are really descendants of the great Ch'iang 羌 race which became widely scattered and split into several clans or tribes, each adopting the name of their leader for the name of the tribe, thus, losing their identity as Ch'iang.

173 "In the seventh year of Chia-ch'ing (1802) a memorial was presented to the Throne to transfer the right wing of the army under a second captain and to divide it to be stationed at the Chang T'u-chou 章土州 [20] and Chiu-ya-p'ing 舊衙坪 [21] subject to it

"In the first year of Tao-kuang (1821), the barbarian robbers made trouble. Afterwards the Viceroy Ch'ing Pao's 慶保 petition being approved he transferred the city Ching-li 經歷 (Chief Yamen secretary) to reside in, and guard Chiu-ya-p'ing.

"In the 16th year of Kuang-hsü (1890) the sub-prefect Chiang Jui-hung 姜瑞鴻 made a report to his superior that the sub-prefect of Pei-sheng, Chang T'ien-hsi 章天錫,[22] had repeatedly broken the law and besought that soldiers be sent to inflict extermination [that is to exterminate him and his entire family]. The Viceroy believed him, and so abolished the hereditary official title, subjugated the district, and placed a new Ching-li (Secretary) of Hua-jung-chuang 華榮庄 in office."

It further states in the Yung-pei Records, ch. 2, fols. 3b–4a, under the heading "Yung-ning native magistracy" (永寧土府): "In the third year of Cheng-t'ung (1438) after the native magistrate Pu-sa had been murdered by the Tso-so T'u-ssu, and his brother who took charge could not withstand the attacks of the T'u-ssu of the military station of Yen-ching [*i.e.*, the Tso-so], he requested that a transferable official be established. In the same year a sub-prefect was sent to guard the seal and reside at Pei-sheng. Afterwards Pei-sheng chou was changed to the fu-magistracy of Yung-pei and the Yung-ning fu sub-prefect was made the Yung-pei fu sub-prefect."

6. PRESENT BOUNDARIES

● 101 Yung-ning borders in the east on Lu-ku Hu 瀘沽湖 (the Yung-ning Lake), Lo-shui 囉水 and She-k'ua 者跨 60 li to the border of the Tso-so T'u-ssu of the native territory of Tso-so in Ssu-ch'uan. In the south to K'a-hsi-p'o 卡西坡,[23] 220 li, adjoining to the territory of Lang-ch'ü chou which is subject to Yung-pei. In the west to Pu-chio-ts'un 卜腳村 [24] [the Na-khi Law-k'a-khi-llü and P'u-dyü of the Hli-khin] 80 li to the Li-chiang district border. In the north to Lieh-ya-tsui 列牙嘴, 60 li to the Ssu-ch'uan Huang lama 四川黃喇嘛 (Yellow lama district) border at Wu-chio Ssu 烏角寺, the monastery of Wu-chio the Tibetan Rin-jom gom-pa (Rin-hjom dgon-pa) [25] of Mu-li, now in Hsi-k'ang.

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[20] Chang T'u-chou was the hereditary native sub-magistrate of Pei-sheng. The family name was Chang 章.

[21] The present Hua-p'ing 華坪, east of Yung-pei or Yung-sheng 永勝.

[22] He was the joint o. sub-prefect. After having been accused of repeatedly breaking the law, he was executed with his entire family, so that there remained no one to offer to his spirit. The execution or extermination of his entire family was ordered by the Yün-nan Viceroy, Wang Wen-shao 王文韶, in 1890. Chang T'ien-hsi was the son of Chang Ling-kao 章齡高, who was prefect of Pei-sheng and retired on account of illness.

[23] On the Chinese Yün-nan military map it is given as 卡洗坡, situated east of the Mien-mien Shan 綿綿山 (Prolonged [continuous] or Extended Mountain) which is north of the town of Lang-ch'ü, now called Ning-lang 寧蒗.

[24] In the genealogical records of the Yung-ning chiefs the name is written P'u-chio 蒲角.

[25] རིན་འཇོམ་དགོན་པ

CHAPTER VII

NING-LANG 寧蒗 OR LANG-CH'Ü CHOU 蒗蕖州

I. BOUNDARIES

The district of Lang-ch'ü which is still under a native T'u-ssu is now called Ning-lang 寧蒗. The present T'u-ssu, like his ancestors, bears the family name A 阿 and is a relative of the T'u-ssu of Yung-ning. The Lang-ch'ü territory is situated between Yung-ning and the territory of Yung-pei, east of the Yangtze loop, and is bordered to the east by the Chung-so T'u-ssu 中所土司 in Ssu-ch'uan. It is watered by the Wo-lo Ho, the southern branch of which has its source south of Lang-ch'ü chou. The chief is a Mo-so, as are most of the T'u-ssu in this region, viz., the Chung-so, Tso-so, Ch'ien-so, Hou-so 後所 and Yu-so 右所, who are collectively called the Wu-so (Five *So*). The peasants are also Mo-so, but in Lang-ch'ü territory the Lo-lo have now the upper hand and are the real masters. A similar situation prevails in the territory of the other *So*. 101

The Yung-pei Records, ch. 7, fol. 34b, have the following to say regarding the boundaries of that district:

"It is 220 li north of the ruling city of Yung-pei. Its original name was Lo-kung 羅共 and it is inhabited by the Lo-lo and Mo-so tribes.

"In the east it borders on Ko-na-ssu 格納思, 100 li to the Ssu-ch'uan Chung-so border.

"In the south to the Tien Ho 跕河 120 li to the border of the Chang 章 T'u-ssu [he was T'u-ssu of Pei-sheng].

"In the west to Chin-hsing 金形 180 li to the border of Li-chiang fu [in the Yangtze valley].

"In the north to K'a-hsi-p'o 卡西坡 120 li to the border of Yung-ning. This is a village east of Mien-mien Shan (Continuous Mountain)."

2. HISTORICAL RECORDS

The Yung-pei Records ch. 2, fol. 4b, state the following about the district:

"The seat of government of the Lang-ch'ü territory is at Lo-kung t'an 羅共賧, situated east of Li-chiang and north of the governing chün 郡 [Yung-pei], adjoining and contiguous with Yung-ning.

"Originally three tribes dwelled there from generation to generation; they are the Lo-lo, Mo [Mo-so] and Hsieh 些 [Li-hsieh 力些]. Kublai Khan attacked Ta-li in the third year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253). In the ninth year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1272), the district was incorporated in the empire. In the 16th year (1279) the name Lo-kung t'an was changed to the department of Lang-ch'ü chou. During the reign of Cheng-t'ung (1436–1449) it became subject to Lan-ts'ang wei (military station of Lan-ts'ang); [this is the present Yung-pei or Yung-sheng].

"In the 26th year of K'ang-hsi (1687) the Wei was abolished and united

[p. 429]

●101 with the Chou. In the 37th year (1698) the chou was raised to a fu-magistracy or fu-city [that is, the city of Yung-pei], to which the land of Lang-ch'ü became subject. Hence Lang-ch'ü, the T'u-ssu's territory, north of the fu-city, is still subject to it to this day."

3. CHRONOLOGICAL RECORDS OF LANG-CH'Ü CHIEFS

173 The first Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu was established during the Ming dynasty. His name was A-ti 阿的.[1] In the 14th year of Hung-wu (1381), when Yün-nan had been pacified, he led his people to submission. He had acquired merit on account of military exploits, and therefore in the 16th year (1383) he received letters patent from Mu Kuo-kung 沐國公 appointing him hereditary native sub-prefect, which were confirmed by the Throne. He was followed by his son A-chi 阿吉 who assumed his duties in the 19th year of Hung-wu (1386). Then followed A-ko 阿各, son of the foregoing; he assumed his duties in the seventh year of Yung-lo (1409). His son, A-p'o 阿珀, assumed his duties in the third year of Cheng-t'ung (1438). He had no sons and died of illness. Afterwards followed A-nu 阿奴, who was A-p'o's younger brother; he became native ruler in the fourth year of Ching-t'ai (1453). Then A-tso 阿佐, A-nu's son, assumed his duties in the second year of T'ien-shun (1458). A-hung 阿洪, his son, assumed the chieftainship in the eighth year of Hung-chih (1495). A-luan 阿鸞, son of A-hung, assumed his official position in the third year of Cheng-te (1508). He was followed by his son A Ch'i-feng 阿岐鳳, in the 25th year of Chia-ching (1546), who was succeeded by his son, A chao-yung 阿朝用, in the 31st year of Chia-ching (1552). He was followed by his son, A-k'uei 阿逵, in the 13th year of Wan-li 萬曆 (1585), who was succeeded by his son, A-chen 阿鎮, in the 25th year of Wan-li (1597).

Then followed A Yung-ch'en 阿永臣, son of A-chen. When his father died he was still young, so his mother, who came of the La family 喇氏 (the Tso-so T'u-ssu), took charge of the affairs of the district. In the seventh year of T'ien-ch'i (1627) he was promoted by Imperial decree and favor to the highest post and given a belt, whereupon he assumed his duties. Afterwards he died of illness, leaving no descendants.

After him came A Yung-chung 阿永忠, his younger brother. He was to assume his elder brother's position, but died ere he took office.

Then succeeded (the 15th generation) A Shang-i 阿尚義, the son of A Yung-chung. He assumed his father's position; as he was not of age, his Tsu-mu 祖母 (father's mother), paternal grandmother of the Chang family (of the T'u-ssu of Pei-sheng) cared for her grandchild and took charge of the affairs of the district. In the 16th year of Shun-chih (1659), owing to the ravages of the troops, he lost his letters patent, seal, and documents. Later Wu San-kuei rebelled, and, although he did not again receive official certificates, he assumed office.

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[1] In another volume of the Yung-pei Records, ch. 7, fol. 34b, it states that A-ti submitted to the empire in the ninth year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1272) of the Mongol dynasty, and that Lang-ch'ü chou was established at that time. During the Hung-wu period (1368–1398) of the Ming dynasty, the T'u-ssu came to submit to the Chinese and was appointed T'u chih-chou 土知州 (Native sub-magistrate).

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PART VI

YEN-YÜAN DISTRICT: ITS HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

CHAPTER I

Yen-yüan District Records

The District of Yen-yüan 鹽源 (Salt-well) is situated in so[redacted]rn 101 Ssu-ch'uan and south-east of Hsi-k'ang 西康.

The Yen-yüan magistracy comprises a considerable area [redacted]d by native Mo-so chiefs whose subjects were preponderatingly [redacted]; other tribes are Hsi-fan and Lo-lo; the latter are now in the ascend[redacted]y. Yen-yüan is ruled by a Chinese magistrate, who at time of writing (1934) has been appointed by the Yün-nan Provincial Government, which would indicate that the district formerly under Ssu-ch'uan has now come under the jurisdiction of Yün-nan. The status of the district has, however, not yet been settled; but it seems to be under the military of Yün-nan.

The most powerful native chief or pacification commissioner of the barbarous tribes under Yen-yüan was the late Lama King who ruled Mu-li; his nephew who succeeded him is a very young man of little personality or influence, and as he is a Hsi-fan like most of his subjects, he does not concern us here.[1] Those who do come within the scope of this work are the chiefs of the Five *So* (Wu-so), and a few others who belong to the Na-khi tribe.

Chinese books, geographical and historical, are singularly brief as to the 173 history of these native chiefs and their territory and very little can be gleaned from the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* 四川通志 (General Topography of Ssu-ch'uan) of which only two editions are extant. In both of these editions a mere half page or so is devoted to Mo-so history and the same holds true for the General Geography of China (*Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih* 嘉慶一統志).

The only work which furnishes more detailed information about these areas is the *Yen-yüan hsien chih* 鹽源縣志 (Yen-yüan District Record). That such a work existed I was well aware, but very few libraries in China and none outside China possess a copy. Neither the National Library nor the Palace Library of Peiping owned one, but the Japanese Library of Peiping does.[2] A manuscript copy is said to be in the Nanking National Government University. While in Peiping in the winter of 1935–1936 I secured the loan of the copy in the Japanese Library which enabled me to translate the salient parts of its records dealing with the territory of the Mo-so chiefs, etc. This

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[1] He has since resigned on account of illness, and as the older brother of the late Mu-li King has died and the male line of the Hang Family has died out, the second son of Chang Ta-chi the brother-in-law of the late Mu-li King has now become the ruler of Mu-li under the guardianship of his father a Molashog Tibetan. His name is: Hang Cha-pa Sung-tien Ch'un-p'in 項扎巴松典椿品.

[2] The *Pei-p'ing Tung-fang wen-hua wei-yüan-hui T'u-shu-kuan* 北平東方文化委員會圖書館.

173 more adjacent to that territory, being separated by the district of Yung-
131 ning].

The smaller district of to-day (*1893*). — "This proves that the district of Yen-yüan includes only parts of other districts and that its frontiers do not extend to those of ancient times. In fact it rules over only part of its former territory.

"The ancient people of Kua-pieh are called by the Ning-fan 寧番 the Shui-wai Sheng-fan 水外生番 (wild savages outside the river [either the Yangtze or the Ya-lung must be meant here]).[23] The people of Tso-so were Ma-la-fei's 馬剌非[24] peasants who were hated by Yung-ning. The Chung-so, Lang-ch'ü, and the Mu T'u-ssu of Li-chiang had disputes regarding boundary lines; the senior native officials of the above mentioned places had also occasional quarrels among themselves."

4. CONFIGURATION OF YEN-YÜAN

173 "Junipers[25] grow on all the lofty peaks of the district of Yen-yüan, giving
137 the latter a blue-green tint. The dragon-like rivers flow zigzag over its land.
133 This district is situated between the Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan boundaries and here the Chinese and tribespeople live in contact.

"The land of Chiung 邛 and of Chiang 絳 is related to this district in the same way as lips are to teeth, while the Liao and Man tribes are as near to it as the fingers to the arm.

"Its passes over the lofty peaks, covered with fragrant junipers, can safely be guarded by one man. Salt and copper are its chief natural resources.

"Yen-yüan is the capital and cross-road of the Chiu-so 九所 (Nine military sub-stations). [Under Chiu-so must be understood the Five *So*, as well as the chieftains of Kua-pieh, Ma-la, Ku-pe-shu and Mu-li.]

5. ACCOUNTS OF YEN-YÜAN AND ANCIENT PLACES

173 *No-chi.* — "The city of No-chi 諾濟 was west of Yen-yüan hsien. It was
101 established during the T'ang dynasty. At the close of the period T'ien-pao 天寶 (751) it was captured by the T'u-fan. In the 15th year of Cheng-yüan

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[23] The Ning-fan are the inhabitants of Ning-fan Wei. The region was surrounded by the Hsi-fan tribe who dwelled there, therefore the Military Station of Ning-fan was called Ning-fan ch'eng 城. All the inhabitants were known as Ning-fan-man.

During the Yüan dynasty there was established a fu-city which was called Su chou 蘇州 in the wild parts of Chiung-tu 邛都. A native (Mongol) official of that region, by the name of Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh 月魯帖木兒, rebelled, and there was then established the Military Station of Ning-fan. This was in the 27th year of Ming Hung-wu (1394).

Su chou was the territory at present governed by Mien-ning hsien. Ning-fan Wei was governed by the Ssu-ch'uan Hsing-tu-ssu 行都司. There were two classes of Fan savages — Sheng-fan (wild, raw, savages) and Shu-fan 熟番 (the ripe savages who had submitted to Chinese rule).

[24] This should read La-ma-fei, he was the son of La-t'a or La-wu, who ruled over the Tso-so territory 300 li south-west of Yen-yüan hsien.

[25] Probably *Juniperus Wallichiana* or *J. formosana*.

貞元 (799) the T'u-fan divided their troops and sent them from No-chi ch'eng to attack Sui chou. In the 17th year (801) Wei Kao 韋皋 sent the Sui-chou general Ch'en Hsiao-yang 陳孝陽 and others with Mo-so tribesmen and the Eastern barbarians (Tung-man 東蠻) to attack the T'u-fan, K'un-ming, and No-chi. Afterwards No-chi was conquered by the Nan-chao Kingdom.

"No-chi ch'eng was situated where the Mu-li and Li-chiang boundaries met and is the place where the No-chi Ho flows. The remains of the wall can still be seen.

Yen ch'eng. — "The ancient Yen ch'eng 古鹽城 was situated in the southwest of Yen-yüan hsien. In the 17th year of T'ang K'ai-yüan 開元 (729), Chang Shen-su 張審素, military governor of Sui chou, captured both K'un-ming and Yen ch'eng. This proves that K'un-ming and Yen ch'eng were two different cities.

Po-hsing, subsequently called Yen-ching and Jun-yen. — "The ancient city of Po-hsing [Po-hsing chou] and Po-hsing Ch'ien-hu-so was in the magistracy of Yen-yüan, and was established during the Yüan dynasty.

"In the province of Yün-nan, according to the *Yüan Shih*, there existed a fu-city of Po-hsing which in ancient times was inhabited by the Mo-sha tribe 摩沙 [the Mo-so or present day Na-khi].

"In the Han dynasty (the land of Po-hsing fu) was the district of Ting-tso. In the T'ang dynasty there was established K'un-ming hsien. At the end of the T'ien-pao period (755) it was captured by the T'u-fan (Tibetans). Afterwards it came under the rule of the Nan-chao Kingdom which changed it to Hsiang-ch'eng Chün 香城郡.

"In the tenth year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1273) a Mo-so chief submitted, also a Lo-lo leader, and the Lu-lu 獹獹 and Ju-k'u 茹庫 tribes [of the district of Yen-yüan].

"In the 14th year (1277) the Chiliarchy (Ch'ien-hu) of Yen-ching was established.

"In the 17th year (1280) the name was changed to Jun-yen chou, and the land of the Lu-lu tribe was created a chou called P'u-lo 普樂州 subject to the Circuit of Te-p'ing 德平路.

"In the 27th year (1290) the two chou of P'u-lo and Jun-yen were united into the hsien of Jun-yen in which the fu-city of Po-hsing was established, subordinate to the Lo-lo-ssu Pacification Commissioner 羅羅斯宣慰司.[26] The tribes living in the suburbs of Jun-yen hsien called it Ho-t'ou tien 賀頭甸. In the period of Hung-wu of the Ming dynasty it was changed

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[26] The Lo-lo-ssu was east of Hsi-ch'ang hsien; in the 12th year of Chih-yüan (1275) a Hsüan-wei ssu was placed there. Lo-lo-ssu was a place east of the city of the Hsing-tu-ssu of Chien-ch'ang, that is, one li east of Hsi-ch'ang hsien. He was the greatest chief of the Hsi-i (Western barbarian) and was called the first chief. He ruled over a large territory which could be covered only in 48 horse-stages, and governed the following tribes: P'o-jen, Lo-lo, Pai-i, Hsi-fan, Mo-so, Meng-ku 蒙古 (Mongols), and Hui-tzu 回子 (Mohammedans).

All these tribes scattered and lived in the valleys and mountains; south they went as far as the Yangtze, and north to the Ta-tu River 大渡河, east they spread as far as Wu-meng 烏蒙 (the present Chao-t'ung) and west to Yen-ching, covering territory over 1,000 li in extent.

173 to the Military Station of Yen-ching which lay 300 li south-west of Tu-ssu
.101 ch'eng 都司城 [that is the city of Chien-ch'ang].

Ting-tso. — "The old hsien of Ting-tso according to the *I-t'ung chih* was situated to the south of Yen-yüan and was established during the Han dynasty.

"According to the *Shu Chih* 蜀志 (Memoirs of Ssu-ch'uan) and especially in the Biography of Chang I 張嶷傳, the three hsien cities of Ting-tso, T'ai-teng, and Pei-shui were over 300 li from the *Chün* 郡 [perhaps here translatable as Commandery] of Yüeh-sui. Formerly the region produced salt, iron and varnish. The tribes closed their country to trade and lived by their own exertions. The prefect Chang I led his troops to rob the tribes of their belongings. On his arrival Hao 豪 of Ting-tso, Ts'en 岑[27] of the (Pai 白) Lang 狼 and Chiu 舅 the King of P'an-mu 槃木 were angry and disliked Chang I and therefore did not go to see him. Chang I then went boldly to them and seizing them put them to death. He took from them salt and many iron utensils which he used to meet the needs of the poor.

"The *Geographical Records of the Chin Dynasty* state that Ting-tso hsien was subject to the Chün of Yüeh-sui.

"In the Historical Records and the Chronicle of the South-western Barbarians it states that in the north-east of Yüeh-sui there were about 10 native princes. Hsi-tso tu 徙筰都 was the largest of them all. The *Hua-yang kuo chih* states that Ting-tso hsien was west of Yüeh-sui Chün, beyond the Lu Shui 瀘水 on the border of Pin-kan 賓剛 where the Pai Mo-sha-i 白摩沙夷 dwelt [that is, the White Mo-so, whence probably the Mongol name for them originated, namely, Cha-han Jang 察罕章 (White Jang or Mo-so)].

"When Chu-ko Liang, the famous Wu-huo 武侯 (Marquis of Wu) (181–234) of the Shu Han dynasty, led his punitive expedition to the south, Kao Ting-yüan 高定元, one of his generals, sent troops from Mao-niu, Ting-tso and Pei-shui and constructed many fortifications. The district of K'unming belonged to the governing district of Yen-yüan.

"According to the *Yüan ho chih* 元和志 it was 300 li from K'un-ming to Sui chou 嶲州. K'un-ming was originally the district of Ting-tso of the Han dynasty. Afterwards it was lost to the Man (barbarians).

Explanation of the name Tso. — "The reason why so many places were called Tso (Bamboo rope) was because the aborigines used rope bridges to cross the large rivers. [These are still in vogue. *See* PLATES 162, 164]. For example Ting-tso and Ta-tso were situated near rivers over which bamboo ropes were stretched. The character *tso* 筰 is equivalent to the character

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[27] The *Tu shih fang-yü chih-yao*, ch. 74, fol. 23b, states that P'an-mu Kuo 槃木國 was west of Mou-chou 茂州 (north-western Ssu-ch'uan). It also relates that the Pai-lang, P'an-mu, Lou-po 樓薄, and over a hundred other countries paid tribute to the Court. They were the barbarians who lived outside of the borders of Mao-niu.

Chang I was a native of Nan-ch'ung Kuo 南充國. which is the present territory lying to the north of the district of Nan-ch'ung (hsien) subject to Shun-ch'ing fu 順慶府 in Ssu-ch'uan. The Nan-ch'ung Kuo was 35 li north of the fu-city of Shun-ch'ing. During the Han dynasty it was the Chün of Pa 巴郡 and during the reign of the Great Yü 大禹 it was the land of Liang chou. He was an administrator of a chou during the Han dynasty.

chiao 笅 (a bamboo rope). It was by means of bamboo (twisted) ropes that the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷 (South-western barbarians) crossed the rivers of Tso.[28] 173 101

Sui-chiu. — "It was situated in the south-west of Yen-yüan and was established during the Han dynasty. It was subject to Yüeh-sui. In former days it was also called Sheng-men 勝門 (Gate of victory), because it served as the gateway to the Pai Kuo (White Kingdom). The latter was one of the earliest States in the west of Yün-nan during the reign of Han Wu-ti (134–87 B.C.).

The Chi-mi of Mi chou. — "According to the Records of the Chiu T'ang (Old T'ang History), the land of Chi-mi chou was under the control of Jung chou 戎州 and its southern boundary adjoined Yao chou 姚州 [in Yün-nan]. It was situated north of the Chin-sha Chiang 金沙江 (Yangtze) and south of Yen-yüan.

The obsolete Ch'ang-ming, Lao chou, Sung-wai,[29] *Hsün-sheng* 尋聲 *and Lin-k'ai.* — "According to the *I-t'ung chih* these districts were all south-west of the district of Yen-yüan. And according to the New T'ang History the land of Ch'ang-ming hsien 昌明縣 was under the control of Sui chou. In the 22nd year of Cheng-kuan (648) the land of the Sung-wai savages was opened, and there was established Lao chou; in addition three hsien were also created in the same land, viz., Sung-wai, Hsün-sheng, and Lin-k'ai. In the third year of Yung-hui 永徽 (652) the chou was abolished and the three hsien were reduced and included in Ch'ang-ming. According to the chronicle of the Nan Man, Liu Po-ying 劉伯英, Tu-tu of Sui chou during the reign of Cheng-kuan, sent a memorial to the Throne stating that the various tribes of Sung-wai had rebelled again after having submitted for a short period, and requested that the Imperial Court sanction their subjugation, so that the road that led to the territories of Hsi-erh 西洱 [Ta-li in West Yün-nan] and T'ien-chu 天竺 (India) might again be opened. Some years later the prefect Liang Chien-fang 梁建方 was ordered to dispatch the troops of 12 chou districts of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) and to lead an expedition against those barbarous tribes. After this more than 70 aboriginal tribes returned to allegiance.

The name Ch'ang explained. — "According to the History of the Later Han there were established by order of Emperor An Ti 安帝 in the sixth year of the period Yung-ch'u 永初 (112) the three Yüan 三苑 of Ch'ang-li

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[28] The *K'ang-hsi Dictionary* states that *tso* is a bamboo rope which the south-western barbarians used in crossing rivers. In the *Shou-wen* 說文 it is said to be equivalent to *chiao* which, as already stated, stands for a bamboo rope. Hence the name Tso for the region. [The rope made of *wei* 葦 (reed) was called *chiao*.]

[29] The reason why the Sung-wai Man were thus called was because they lived outside the district, namely Sung chou 松州. They dwelled in cliff caves, and were troglodytes. It is also stated on the border of the present day Tung-ch'uan 東川 there is a mountain called Chiang-yün-lung 絳雲弄山, and adjoining the border of Lu-ch'üan 祿勸 of Yün-nan province there is a mountain called Sung-wai-lung Shan 松外龍山 (Dragon Mountain of Sung-wai) and this is the ancient territory of the Sung-wai Man (From *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 74, fol. 25b).

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that the mountain Chiang-yün-lung is 120 li south-west of Tung-ch'uan, the present Hui-tse hsien 會澤縣.

173 長利, Kao-wang 高望 and Shih-ch'ang 始昌, in [the Chün of] Yüeh-sui.[30] It was then that the word Ch'ang 昌 was given to certain districts and their
101 cities [*ch'ang* meaning glorious, prosperous].

"With the advent of the Yüan dynasty the circuit of Te-ch'ang 德昌 was incorporated with Te chou 德州 and the circuit of Ting-ch'ang 定昌 was also known as Ting-tso. Besides there were the districts of Ch'ang chou 昌州 and Chien-ch'ang. In the territory of Sui 巂 most of the cities were called *ch'ang*, but only in the Yüan dynasty. After that period the oldest district bearing the name Ch'ang was Ch'ang-ming, which included Lao chou, and the three hsien of Sung-wai, Lin-k'ai, and Hsün-sheng, and the land of more than 70 tribes. This district had roads leading to the land of Hsi-erh [Ta-li] and T'ien-chu [India] and was one of the largest of the Empire. This is the present-day Mu-li, whence roads led to India. Beyond its mountains were roads which led to Ai-lao 哀牢 [Yung-ch'ang or Pao-shan]. Its northern frontier adjoined the territory of Hsi-ch'ang, and its eastern the boundary of Te-ch'ang. Its southern frontier was not far from that of Yung-ch'ang.

"It is said that the land north-east of Pai-yen ching, viz: Yen-chung 鹽中, Ku-po-shu 古柏樹 and Kua-pieh belonged to K'un-ming.

"It is possible that all the districts south-west of Yen-ching, as A-so-la 阿所拉,[31] Tso-so, Mu-li, Chung-so, and Kua-pieh 瓜別, belonged to the district of Ch'ang-ming.

Chin hsien (*or chou*). — "Chin hsien 金縣 or Chin chou 金州 was situated north-west of the district of Yen-yüan according to the *I-t'ung-chih*, and was established during the Yüan dynasty. It adjoined the land of the T'u-fan. [Gold must have been produced in that region, hence its name Chin hsien (District of gold)]. It is identical with K'u-lu 枯櫓, also called K'ang-wu 康塢 in Mu-li, known to be rich in gold.

Sha-yeh ch'eng. — "Sha-yeh ch'eng 沙野城 is the present land of Sha-p'ing-p'u 沙平堡 and probably identical with the land of Sha-ch'eng hsien 沙城縣 of the ancient Nan-chao Kingdom.

Sui chou. — "According to the History of the T'ang dynasty there were in the district of Sui chou nine cities or towns 城, as Hsin-an 新安, San-fu 三埠, Sha-yeh 沙野, Su-ch'i 蘇祁, P'u-chai 俘寨, Lo-shan 羅山, Hsi-lu 西瀘, She-yung 蛇勇 and O-jung 遏戎; all these were important garrison towns.[32]

"According to the new History of the T'ang dynasty it is 260 li from Sui chou by way of Sha-yeh ch'eng to Ch'iang-lang-i 羌浪驛 (despatch station of Ch'iang-lang). Again, when travelling for over 100 li from Sui chou via

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[30] These San yüan were places for rearing horses.

[31] The A-so-la Inspectorate is west of Yen-yüan hsien and was established in the 22nd year of Chia-ch'ing (1817).

[32] Hsin-an ch'eng was south of Hsi-ch'ang and was established during the reign of T'ang K'ai-yüan (713–741). In the fifth year of Hsien-t'ung 咸通 (864) the robbers of Nan-chao took Sui chou, thereupon Yen-ch'ing 顏慶, a garrison commander, presented a memorial to be permitted to rebuild the two cities of Hsin-an and O-jung. He received permission, but afterwards the Nan-chao Kingdom captured them. P'u-chai was south-west of Hsi-ch'ang.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 So..west China AF16

Yang-p'eng ling 楊蓬嶺, a high mountain pass, one reached the town of O-chun-kuan 俄準館. To the south of Yang-p'eng was the territory of the Nan-chao Kingdom.

Jun-yen chou. — "Jun-yen chou was the land of K'un-ming of the T'ang dynasty and is the present Yen-yüan hsien.

P'u-lo chou. — "P'u-lo chou 普樂州 was to the north of the T'ang dynasty Ch'ang-ming hsien and adjacent to the chou of P'u-chi 普濟州.[33] Afterwards it was united with Jun-yen.

Hsi-yü or Mo-yü chou. — "The Hsi-yü chou 西豫州, or Mo-yü hsien 磨豫縣, and the hsien of Ch'i-pu 七部. At the beginning of the reign of T'ang T'ien-pao 天寶 (742) there were two places, called Chiang-mo 姜磨 and Shu-mo 戍磨 respectively, which were identical with the territory of Mo-yü. In the present day Yen-chung 鹽中 there is said to be a mountain called Mo-yü Shan, the hsien or district of Ch'i-pu cannot be located.

Ho-t'ou tien (or Lo-lan pu 落蘭部). — "According to the *Fang-yü chih yao*, the territory of the Ma-la Chang-kuan-ssu 馬刺長官司 or Senior native official Ma-la, was the land of Jun-yen hsien of the Lo-lan tribe during the Yüan dynasty. The two small military stations called Chen-hsi-p'u 鎮西堡 and Ta-ch'ung-ho comprised during the Mongol dynasty the district of Lu chou 瀘州 and were situated 60 li north of Chung-so Yen-ching 中所鹽井.[34]

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[33] P'u-chi was 150 li south-west of Hsi-ch'ang. The aborigines called it Kan-tien 阡甸 and the Lu-lu Man lived there for generations.

[34] The military substation of the chiliarch of Chung-tso, that is the Chung-so and Tso-so Ch'ien-hu of the garrison service of the Ta-ch'ung Ho 打冲河守禦中左千戶所 was 160 li north-east of Yen-ching wei and during the Mongol dynasty was the land of Lu chou of the Circuit of Chien-ch'ang. During the period of Ming Hung-wu (1368–1398) a So (military substation) was established, but was later changed into five So, subject to Chien-ch'ang. The Tso-so T'u-ch'ien-hu was given to the family La 喇氏 in perpetuity.

In the 25th year of Hung-wu (1392) Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh and Chia-ha-la and the native La-t'a submitted and the latter's son, La-ma-fei, went to pay tribute to the court, whereupon he was made a vice-chiliarch (Fu-ch'ien-hu 副千戶). Later, in the 11th year of Yung-lo 永樂 (1413) he was made a full chiliarch.

The land of the other four So adjoined Li-chiang and Yung-ning territory. The native official of the house of Mu of Li-chiang encroached on their territory so that half of it was lost to them. All the others submitted at the beginning of the Ming dynasty and were given official positions, as the Yu-so chiliarch Pa 八, the Chung-so chiliarch La 喇, the Ch'ien-so chiliarch A 阿, the Hou-so chiliarch Pai 白. Later they were encroached upon and devoured by Li-chiang as a silkworm gnaws on the mulberry leaves.

In the *T'ien-hsia Chün-kuo Li-ping shu*, ch. 68, fol. 14a, there is a statement which has created a good deal of misunderstanding, but by reading the *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 74, fol. 17a, the misunderstanding seems to be cleared up. The cause of this misunderstanding is the character *cheng* 正 in the first-named work. It relates there that in the 25th year of Hung-wu (1392) in the 正月 (first moon), Lu-t'ieh-mu-erh and Chia-ha-la and the native La-t'a submitted. The second work states that in the same year they attacked (征) 月魯帖木兒 Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh; in the first-named work the character *yüeh* is taken from his name and made to read "first moon," in the second the character *yüeh* is left as part of his name and the first character is read *cheng*, "to attack, to subjugate."

However, in the same work, on p. 6 of the same chapter, it states that in the 27th year

173 101 *Yen Chung-tso so.* — "The Yen Chung-tso so was established during the Ming dynasty; it was the land of Ho-hsi 河西 and was surrounded by an earth wall; now it does not exist but the remains are still visible.

Chung-so Ch'ien-hu-so. — "The Chung-so Ch'ien-hu-so, established during the Ming dynasty, was on the west bank of the Ta-ch'ung Ho[35] it was abolished, but the foundations of the wall can still be seen.

6. DISCUSSION OF THE TERMS TSO, SUI, YÜEH, SHENG, HSI, ETC.

"It may be remarked that it was not only the city and district of Yen-yüan which was known as Tso, but also the various regions as Sung 松, Mou 茂, Ch'eng-li 沈黎, Chin-ch'uan 金川 and Wai-tsang 外藏.[36] Yet when people speak of Tso they generally mean Yen-yüan only. Yen-yüan is also spoken of as Sui 巂, but many other places like Pei-shui, Hui-wu, Yao chou (in Yün-nan), and Ma-hu were also called Sui, although when people speak of Sui they generally mean Yen-yüan."

The magistrate who compiled the *Yen-yüan hsien chih* discusses in a separate chapter the correctness of the names of the main streams, rivers and places, and also the mistakes which crept in in olden days. The chapter is entitled "Does the land of Sui lie on the banks of the Tso river?"

He mentions that Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 (145–86–74? B.C.) had travelled through the Yen-yüan district [probably around 109 B.C.] and was familiar with its mountains and rivers. The other historians, however, had little knowledge of this land and vaguely called it by various names such as Sui and Tso. Therefore those who studied the history of China doubted their statements.

He then relates that having himself travelled extensively in the district and interrogated many old residents, and having a wide knowledge of China's historical and geographical works, he began to realize which was the true land of Sui, and says it actually borders on Tso. "Sui 巂 is the name of a river, and the name Yüeh 越, which has the meaning of passing over, has been selected because the virtue of the Han dynasty was so vast that it had even extended beyond the confines of the Sui River. In the land of

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of Hung-wu, the first moon, Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh rebelled. We have here two *yüeh*, viz., 正月月魯帖木兒 etc. Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh was a general in the Mongol army or often referred to as Shuai 帥 (Commander).

[35] The *Tu-shih fang yü chi-yao* ch. 74, fol. 17a, states that "Chung-tso so 中左所 was west and the Chung-ch'ien so 中前所 was (were) east of the Ta-ch'ung Ho and that furthermore it performed garrison duty on the river bank." The present-day Chung-so territory is east of the Ta-ch'ung Ho and the Ch'ien-so territory west of it.

[36] Wai-tsang was really the land of the Ch'iang 羌 tribe and the land of the Hsi-jung 西戎 mentioned in Yü Kung 禹貢. The real Tsang is Tra-shi-lun-po བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྷུན་པོ bKra-shis-lhun-po (Cha-shih-lün-pu 札什倫布) the land controlled by the Panchen Lama.

Ch'ien-tsang 前藏 is the territory controlled by Lhasa and adjoins Ssu-ch'uan, or rather the present Hsi-k'ang, comprising Ta-chien-lu, Li-t'ang, Pa-t'ang (K'ang-ting, Li-hua, Pa-an) and Chha-mdo (Ch'a-mu-to 察木多); then there is the Chung-tsang (Central Tibet) and the Hou-tsang 後藏 (Further Tibet). The general term for Tibet is Hsi-tsang 西藏.

Chin-ch'uan is the Tibetan Gye-rong (rGyal-rong རྒྱལ་རོང).

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101 ●

Yüeh-sui there is a stream which has its source in the land of the Fan 番. This river, misidentified by former generations as the Lu Shui which had been crossed by Chu-ko Liang, is none other than the Ta-tu Ho, which the cunning Sung Emperor T'ai Tsu 太祖 (960–976), by drawing a line on the map with his jade axe, made the boundary of his domain.

"The Sui River is probably the upper part of the Chin-sha Chiang which flows around the borders of Li-chiang. The people crossing the Ta-tu Ho use bamboo ropes, therefore they call it *Tso*. Those crossing the Chin-sha Chiang use a *sheng* 繩 (hemp rope), hence the name Sheng Shui.

"The Sheng River is also called the Sui River [*Sui* is also read *Hsi*]. This, he states, seems to be proven by the history of Li-chiang which was known during the T'ang dynasty as the Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔. The character *hsi* 析 is similar in sound to the character *sui* 嶲 or to the sound of the character 徙 *hsi*. In the *Shih Chi* 史記, ch. 116, fol. 1b, it states that Hsi-tso tu 徙筰都 was the largest of the 10 tribal kingdoms.[37]

"The character *hsi* 徙 is but another way of writing the character *sui* 嶲 but the character *hsi* 析 is an erroneous one.

"This would surely indicate that the Yüeh-sui 越嶲 is the Sheng-sui 繩嶲, (that is, the Yangtze).

"All the territory south-west of Hsü fu 敍府 may be called Sui 嶲, nevertheless the region to the north of the Yangtze is the inner Sui. And as all the different districts called Tso, Chiung-tu 邛都, and T'ai-teng were once subordinate to the military Chiao-yü 校尉 of Mao-niu, they were called Sui. To the south of the Yangtze is the territory of Li-chiang. Why should it be called Sui? It would be better called Yüeh 越.

"In the Han dynasty there were the various towns and districts of Tso-tu, Ta-tso and Ting-tso. Tso-tu is the present Ch'ing-hsi, Ta-tso is said to be the present Mien-ning 冕寧, but it really is the land of Mu-li and Kua-pieh of the hsien of Yen-yüan, while Ting-tso is on the border of Sui.

"The word *Tso* was not only applied to the rope used to cross the rivers but because of its use by the aborigines the latter were also called Tso together with the land they dwelt in. Hence it is stated that Tso are the aborigines, Sui is a river, and Yüeh has reference to the remoteness of Sui. The meaning implied is that of the characters *mai* 邁 and *yao* 遙 (to surpass, to exceed, remote).

"The land of Li-chiang was the Mo-so chao or Kingdom, and all the So, as Tso-so, Yu-so, etc., of Yen-yüan belonged to the Mo-so Kingdom. Li-chiang lies within the river boundaries of the Sui (Yangtze) 嶲水 while all the rivers of Yen-yüan flow into the Sui Shui.[38]

---

[37] Hsi-tso, according to the same work, comprised two kingdoms. Hsi hsien 徙縣 was in Shu 蜀 (Ssu-ch'uan), Tso hsien 筰縣 was in Yüeh-sui. Tso chou was originally outside the borders of Hsi Shu 西蜀 (Western Shu), and was called the Miao Ch'iang Sui 髳羌嶲. It was the Ya chou Chiung-lai Shan 雅州邛崍山; originally it was called Chiung-tso Shan 邛筰山 and was the border of the ancient Chiung and Tso people.

According to the *Ya chou fu chih*, ch. 2, fol. 42b, this mountain is five li north of the district of Ch'ing-hsi 清溪縣. The road over it is a very difficult one.

[38] This is indirectly correct for most of the streams flow into the Li-t'ang River, the latter into the Ya-lung, and it in turn flows into the Yangtze.

173 "Li-chiang was the Mo-so chao (Kingdom) and all the So 所 of Yen-yüan
101 were called Mo-so, therefore Li-chiang and Yen-yüan are like one family.

"Others consider the Ta-tu Ho as the Sui Chiang 巂江, but this cannot be, for that river is too remote from the district; others make the Mien-ning Ho 冕寧河 the Jo Shui, but the Jo Shui cannot possibly be so small as the Mien-ning Ho. The Sui Shui must be the Sheng Shui (Yangtze) and the Jo Shui the Ya-lung River."

CHAPTER II

THE EIGHT MO-SO CHIEFTAINCIES IN SOUTH-WEST SSU-CH'UAN

S
ST
101

The Wu-so. — There are in all eight native chieftains belonging to the Na-khi or Mo-so tribe whose territory is situated in south-west Ssu-ch'uan and who formerly were part of Yün-nan under the rule of the Yung-ning chiefs. Those adjoining the Yün-nan provincial boundary on the east, that is, the native prefecture of Yung-ning, beginning from the north are: the Ch'ien-so 前所 T'u-ssu (Front *So*) and the Tso-so 左所 T'u-ssu or (Left *So*); the latter adjoins the territory of the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu in the south. The Chung-so 中所 (Central *So*) adjoins the Tso-so in the north and the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu on the west. The Hou-so 後所 (Rear *So*) adjoins Mu-li on the east, west, and north and Tso-so territory on the south, being wedged in between the southern boundary of Mu-li and the northern boundary of the Tso-so country. The Yu-so 右所 (Right *So*) in contradistinction to the Tso-so (Left *So*) is the farthest east. It adjoins the Yün-nan border in the south; the rest of this domain borders on Chinese-controlled territory in Ssu-ch'uan. These comprise the Wu-so 五所 (Five *So* or Military Guard Stations).

Kua-pieh, Ku-po-shu and Pi-chü-lu. — There remain now the Ku-po-shu 古柏樹 T'u-ssu, whose territory adjoins Mu-li in the west, and the Kua-pieh 瓜別 T'u-ssu in the north, near the bend of the Li-t'ang River, or Li Chhu, where it debouches into the Ya-lung Chiang. The Li-t'ang Ho is often called the Hsiao-chin Ho 小金河 (Small gold River) in contradistinction to the Ya-lung Chiang which is also known by the name of Chin Ho.

The Kua-pieh T'u-ssu's southern boundary adjoins that of the Ku-po-shu T'u-ssu. To the west and north it adjoins the borders of Mu-li on the Li-t'ang River and Ya-lung Chiang.

The eighth Mo-so or Na-khi chief is called the A-sa-la 阿撒喇 T'u-ssu, the present-day Pi-chü-lu 革直蘆,[1] whose territory is subject to the magistracy of Yen-pien 鹽邊縣 which adjoins the Yün-nan border in the south. This latter place is not marked on Major Davies' map, in fact the only one of the eight T'u-ssu given on his map is Kua-pieh.

The Wu-so T'u-ssu rule mostly over refractory Lo-lo tribes, if ruling it can be called, for they have no control over them, and live in constant fear and dread of them — which is also true of the three other T'u-ssu, neighbors of the Wu-so.

I. KUA-PIEH 瓜別

"The town of Kua-pieh [the residence of the chief] is 320 li from Yen-yüan hsien. The eastern border of Kua-pieh, which adjoins the district of

---

[1] In the Yen-yüan Records Pi-chü-lu is not reckoned as one of the Nine *so* (九所) which are as follows: Mu-li, Kua-pieh, Ma-la, Chung-so, Tso-so, Yu-so, Ku-po-shu, Ch'ien-so and Hou-so.

[p. 453]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

S ST 101

Hsi-ch'ang, is at the village of Mu-mu-ku 沒沒古 240 li distant. The southern border is formed by the mountain called O-tzu-wu 厄子午山 and adjoins the territory of Ku-po-shu 古柏樹, a distance of 170 li. The western border is formed by the K'ua-na Mountain 夸納山 adjoining the territory of Mu-li, a distance of 120 li. The northern border is formed by the Wa-lieh-ko-chia Mountain 瓦列歌甲山 adjoining the land of Mu-li, a distance of 280 li. The circumference of the entire Kua-pieh territory is 820 li. It controls 1,253 households composed of 2,826 tribespeople.

S ST 651

"The territory pays an annual land-tax of 70 *shih* 碩 of buckwheat, but in lieu of the latter, 35 *tan* 石 [piculs] of rice may be paid. This tax may also be converted into a cash payment in proportion of 1.24 taels of silver for every *tan* of rice, or a total of 43.40 taels silver. This tax is remitted to the Hui-yen ying 會鹽營 (Army corps of Hui-li and Yen-yüan) for soldiers' rations.

S ST 101

"There are two tribes subject to or inhabiting this district, namely the Mo-so and the Hsi-fan. Their temperament and customs are similar to those Fan barbarians under the jurisdiction of Mu-li." (PLATE 256).

The Pacification commissioner of Kua-pieh himself is a Mo-so tribesman. The present incumbent is a very young man who resides at Shih-hua-chai 石花寨. He rules (?) over more Lo-lo than Mo-so and Hsi-fan whom the Lo-lo have mostly supplanted. In January, 1924, his father, the then ruling T'u-ssu, was murdered by the Lo-lo with his entire family, save his eldest son, the present T'u-ssu, who escaped to Mu-li at the time of my first visit to the Mu-li King. As already remarked, the Lo-lo have now everywhere the upper hand, and the other tribes live in fear and trembling of those warlike savages.

In the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, ch. 97, fol. 18b, the boundaries vary somewhat from those given in the Yen-yüan Records. For example, it states that the territory extends east to the Ta-ch'ung Ho to the mouth of Mu-mu 沒沒 ford and Chia-cho Shan 甲擢山, a distance of 240 li, and adjoining the district boundary of Hsi-ch'ang; south to the Pai-chio Ho 白脚河 and O-tzu-wu Shan, a distance of 180 li, adjoining the border of Ku-po-shu. To the west it extends to Kuai-tai-ha-chia 拐帶哈呷 120 li, adjoining Mu-li territory. To the north it extends 280 li also to the Mu-li border.

Handel-Mazzetti, in his *Naturbilder aus Südwest China*, gives a description of Kua-pieh, which he calls Kwapi (pp. 49–59). A color plate (36) shows the village of Kua-pieh on a terrace encircled by high, forested mountains, a picture of peace and contentment; his PLATE 30 is a photograph of a fresco in the T'u-ssu's yamen depicting a battle between Kua-pieh Mo-so and Lo-lo. The Mo-so soldiers are carrying a flag bearing the character *Chi* 己, the family name of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu.

S 173

Genealogy of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu (*Pacification Commissioner*). — "The first ancestor of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu was a Mo-so tribesman by name Yü-chu-p'o 玉珠迫.[2] He submitted in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710),

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[2] This name does not occur in the first edition of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (1733), but the first ruler after Yü-chu-p'o is stated to have submitted in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi.

2. MA-LA 馬喇

● 101 Although the Ma-la Fu Chang-kuan-ssu 馬喇副長官司 or Deputy senior native official of Ma-la[5] and his subjects do not belong to the Mo-so tribe but to the Tai or Shan whom the Chinese designate as Pa-i 擺夷, the territory is here included as it adjoins the So 所 of Yen-yüan. It seems strange that sandwiched in as it were among Mo-so we should here find the Tai or Shan (Pa-i) so far north. The compiler of the Yen-yüan District Records calls them P'o 僰, which is simply another nomenclature for this tribe. They are not to be confused with the Pai-jen 白人 or Pai-i 白夷 (White barbarians) of the ancient Pai-tzu Kuo, now known as Min-chia and who were the T'u-jen 土人, or aborigines, of the Nan-chao Kingdom.

In the *Yen-yüan hsien chih* it states that in the land of Tso there were three tribes, namely, the P'o, Hsi-fan and Mo-so. The P'o are claimed to be the descendants of the Yü-hsüeh Ch'iang 禹穴羌.[6]

"They are known as the most benevolent of tribes, hence the character P'o 僰, the radical of which is *jen* 人 (man) has been selected [in contradistinction to the dog radical 犭 which is commonly used in tribal names].

That they are the descendants of the Ch'iang of Yü-hsüeh is rather far-fetched, for the Ch'iang belong to the Tibeto-Burman stock to which the P'o or Pa-i do certainly not belong.

131 The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 200, fol. 5b, states that during the Han dynasty they dwelt at P'o-chou tien 叵苴甸, and in the T'ang dynasty at Pu-hsiung 步雄 and Hsi-o 嶍峨. The former is the present Chiang-ch'uan hsien 江川縣 of Ch'eng-chiang fu 澂江府; the latter is the present Hsi-o hsien of Lin-an fu 臨安府. Hsi is also the name of a mountain in the south of Yün-nan.

"The subordinate magistracy of Ma-la is 350 li distant from Yen-yüan hsien. The eastern border is 60 li east of Ma-la at K'a-so-ching 卡所箐 and adjoins the border of Chung-so. The southern border is marked by a stone tablet and is 60 li distant, adjoining the territory of the T'u-ssu Kao 高 of Yung-pei, Yün-nan. The western border is at Lo-k'o-ngai 羅可崖 50 li distant and adjoins the territory of the Chang 章 T'u-ssu of Yung-pei, Yün-nan. The northern border is at Chi-lo-ching 吉樂箐, a distance of 70 li,

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[5] In the *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-yi k'ao* (see p. 437 n. 3) pp. 36b–37a, there is also mentioned a Wa-la Chang-kuan-ssu, 瓦剌長官司. His territory lay 350 li south-west of the Yen-ching garrison. It relates that the family name of the native official was A 阿 and that the first ancestor of the family was a native of that place. In the Hung-wu era (1368–1398) he returned to allegiance, assisted with the revenue and acquired merit whereupon he was given the rank of Chang-kuan which his sons and grandsons inherited. He paid 150 piculs of food supplies which were allotted to the garrison. His territory adjoined Pei-sheng chou (now Yung-sheng hsien the former Yung-pei) in Yün-nan. At the time of the composing of the above records the Wa-la Chang-kuan-ssu's name was A Sung 阿嵩. On a map accompanying the text, the Ma-la Chang-kuan-ssu is to the north-west of Yen-ching wei.

[6] Yü-hsüeh is the name of a defile in the Wu mountains 巫山 which gives passage to the waters of the Yangtze. The mountain is east of Wu-shan hsien 巫山縣 in Ssu-ch'uan. The waters of the Yangtze pass east through the gorges of the Wu Mountains (*Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung chih*, ch. 397, fol. 6b).

2: Rock
487, 491, 133, 101, 361

AF 16 Southwest China AF 16

[Chart of Pagination on End Maps I, II, III, IV.]

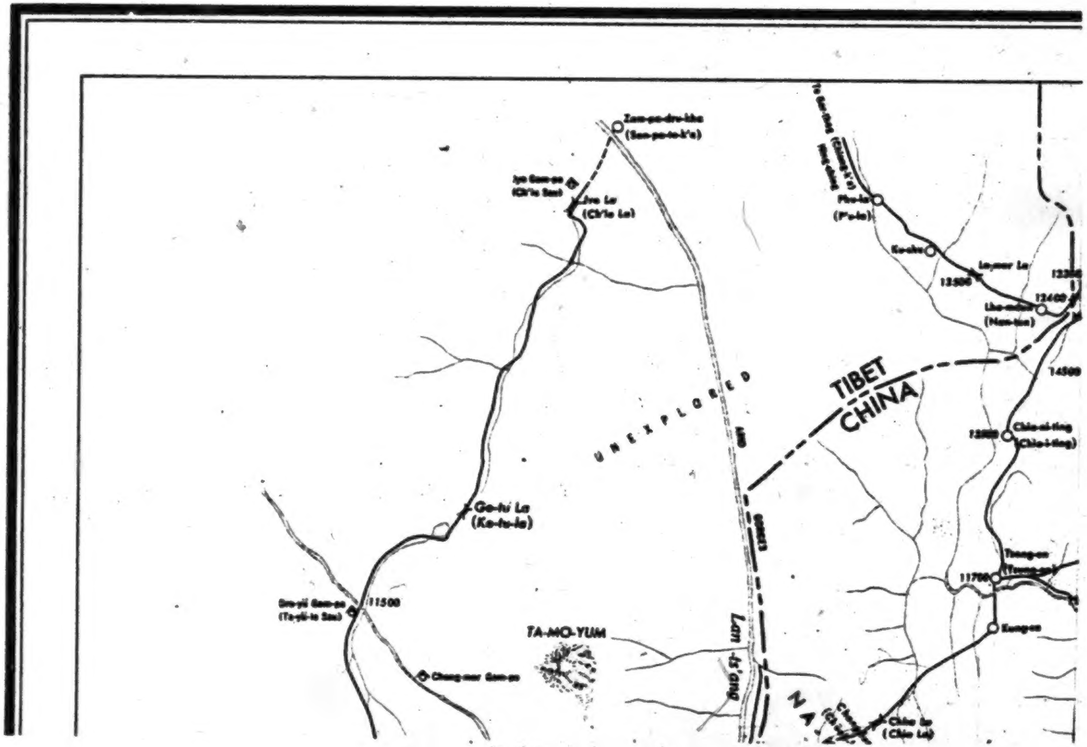
A	B
C	D
E	F
G	H

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

101
487
361
133
491

CHINA 1:500,000

TE-CH'I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(San-pa-to-k'a)
Go-tsi La
(Ko-tu-la)
11500
Chang-mar Gom-pa
TA-MO-YUM
UNEXPLORED
Lan-ts'ang
TIBET
CHINA
Pho-la
(P'u-la)
Ko-cho
Laymar La
13500
12400
Lha-mdun
(Han-tsu)
14500
12000
Chia-ni-ting
(Chia-i-ting)
Tsong-ko
11700
Kung-an
Chia La
(Chia La)
NA

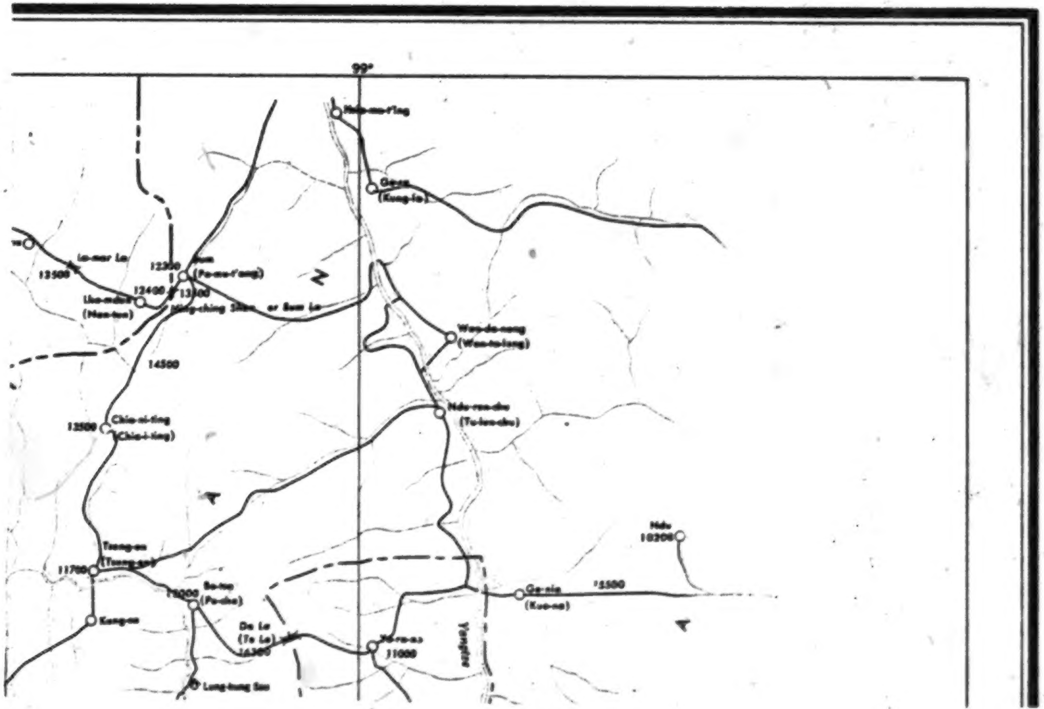
[End map I A]

101
487
361
133
491

-CH'IN

FIRST EDITION—AMS 1

SHEET I OF IV
A.M.S. L406


99°
Gara
(Kung-la)
La-mar La
13500
12300
Bum
(Pa-mu-t'ang)
12400
13300
Lha-mdo
(Nan-tun)
Ming-ching Shan or Bum La
Wan-da-nang
(Wan-ta-lang)
14500
Ndu-ran-chu
(Tu-lao-chu)
12500
Chia-ni-ting
(Chia-i-ting)
Tsong-en
(Tsung-en)
11700
Ndu
10200
Ba-tso
13000
(Pa-cho)
Ga-nia
(Kao-na)
Kang-aa
Da La
(Ta La)
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Ya-ra-aa
11000
Yangtze
Lung-hung Ssu

[End map I B]

101
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361
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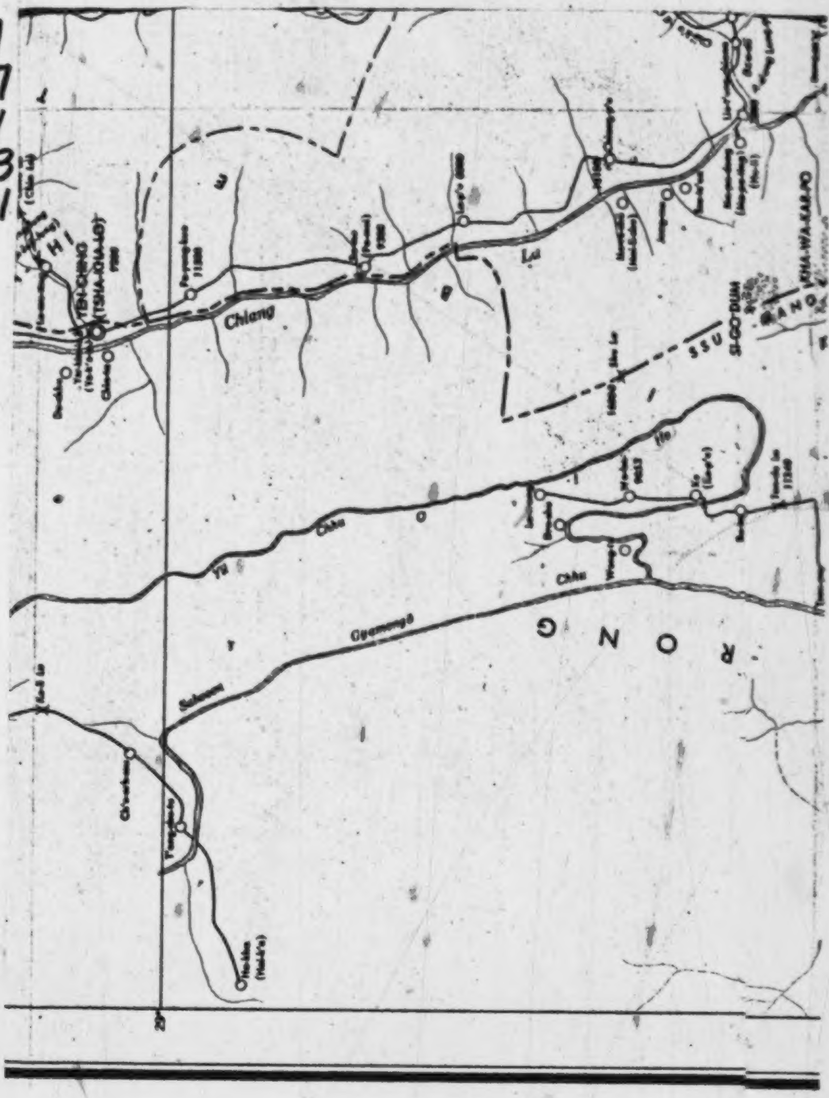
YEN-CHING
(TSHA-KHA-LO)
Chiang
Lu
SSU
SI-GO-DUM
KHA-WA-KAR-PO
Yü
Chu
Salween
Gyamong
Chu
R O N G
29°

[End map I C]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

•/01
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361
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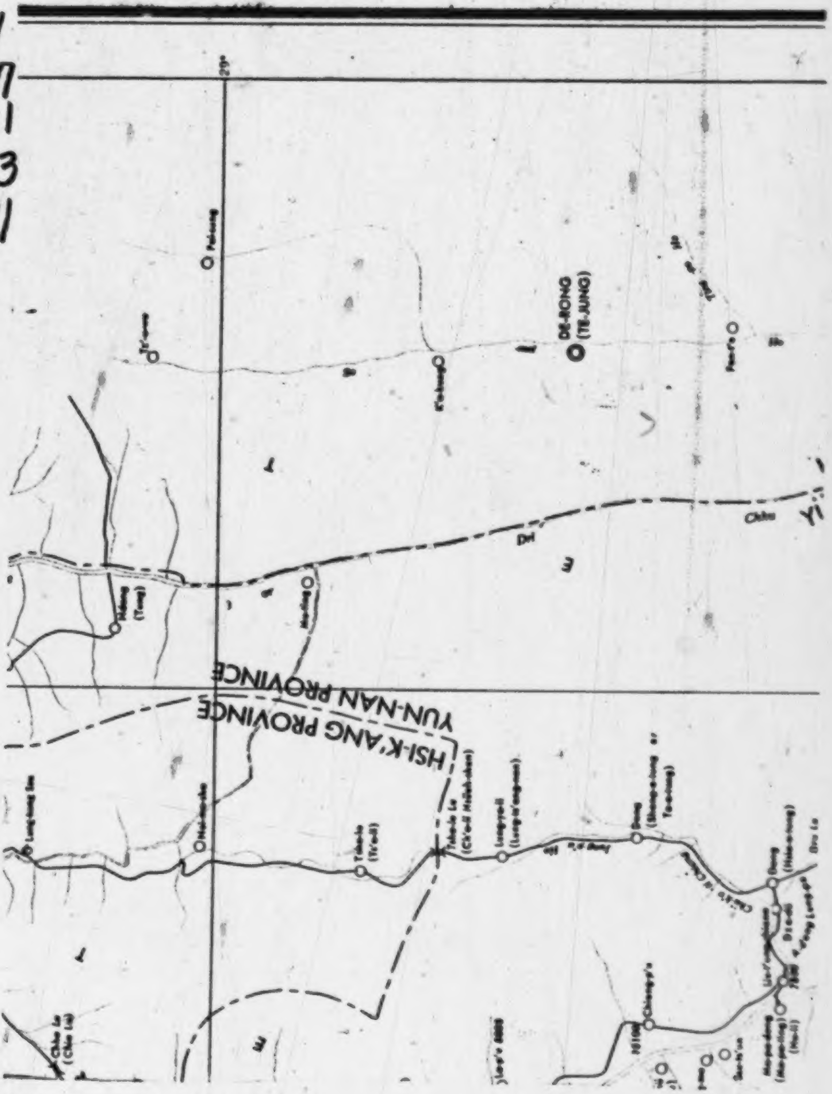
491


29°
DE-RONG
(TE-JUNG)
HSI-K'ANG PROVINCE
YUN-NAN PROVINCE
Dong
Chiang-p'u

[End map I D]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

● 101
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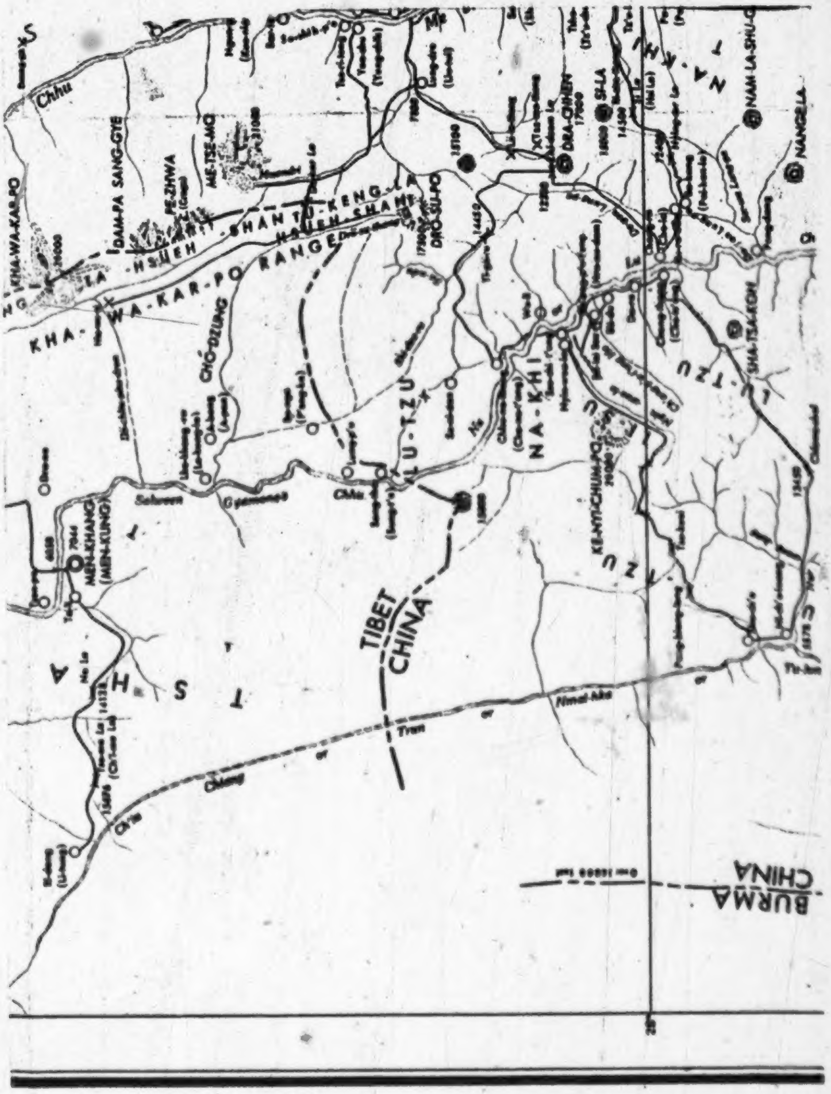
133
491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DAM-PA SANG-GYE
PE-ZHWA
ME-TSE-MO
KHA-WA-KAR-PO RANGE
CHÖ-DZUNG
DRO-SU-PO
DRA-CHHEN
SI-LA
NA-KHI
NAM-LA-SHU-G
NANGELA
SHA-TSA-KOH
LU-TZU
NA-KHI
KE-NYI-CHUM-PO
LU-TZU
MEN-KHANG
(MEN-KUNG)
Salween
Chhu
T S H A
TIBET
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BURMA
CHINA

[End map I E]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

101
487
361
133
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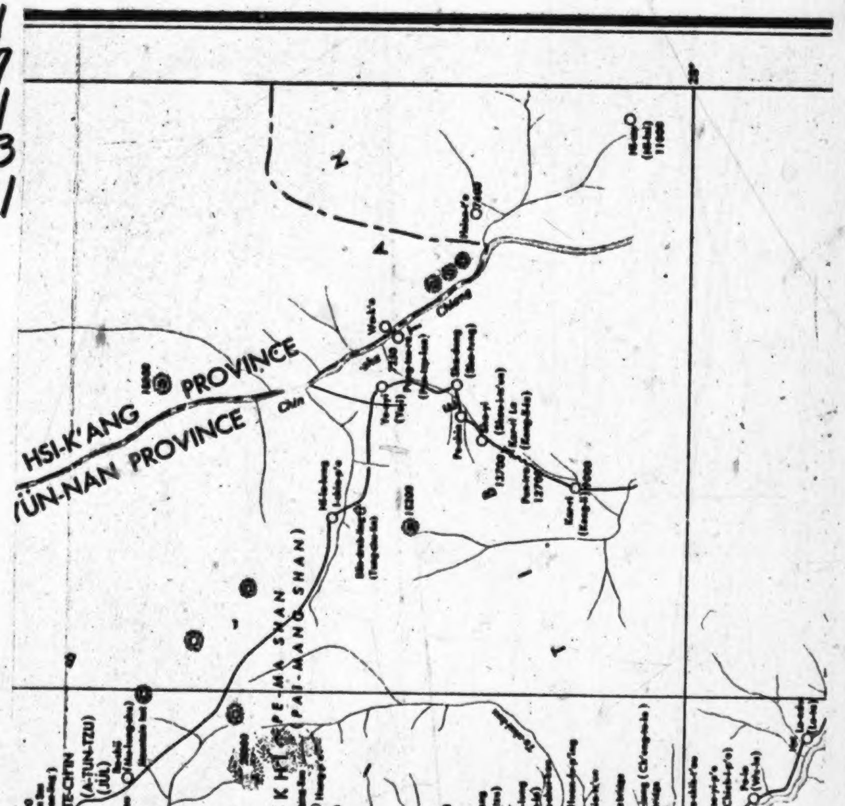
HSI-K'ANG PROVINCE
YÜN-NAN PROVINCE
PE-MA SHAN
(PAI-MANG SHAN)
NA-KHI
TE-CH'IN
(A-TUN-TZU)
(JÜL)
A-KAR-PO
DAM-PA SANG-GYE
PE-ZHWA
ME-TSE-MO
RO-SU-PO
DRA-CHHEN
17900
SI-LA
NAM-LA-SHU-GA
NA-KHI
Chhu
Kong
Chin
Chiang
28°

[End map I F]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

101
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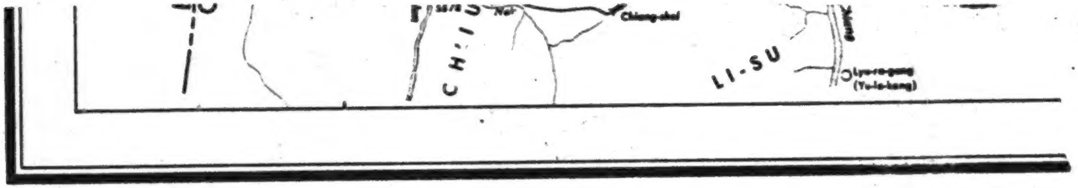
361
133
491

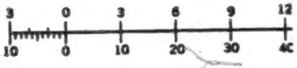

5878
Nai
CH'IU
Chiang-chai
LI-SU
Lyu-ra-gang
(Yu-la-kang)

A.M.S. L406

First Edition (A.M.S. 1), 1946

Prepared under the direction of the Chief of Engineers by the Army Map Service (AMPT), U. S. Army, Washington, D. C. Redrafted from original maps compiled in 1945 by J. F. Rock, from original surveys 1922, 1923 and from surveys by Major H. R. Davies 1895, Captain F. M. Bailey 1911, Dr. H. Handel—Mazzetti 1914-16, Eric Teichman 1922.

Scale 1:500,000 (Approximai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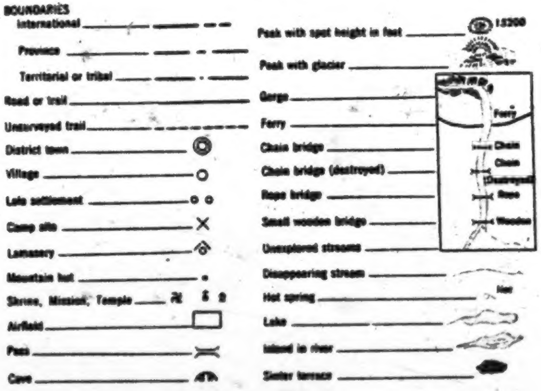
PROJECTION LINES ARE APPRC

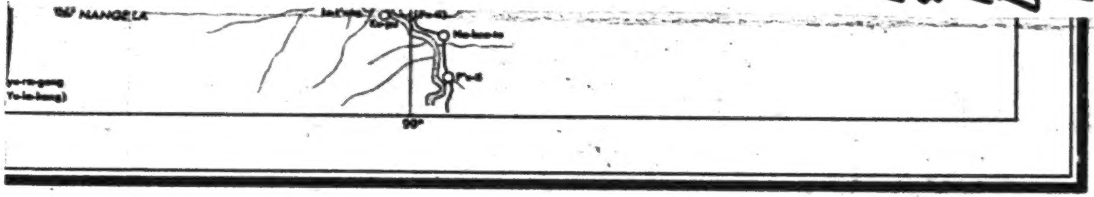
APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN

LEGEND


BOUNDARIES
International
Province
Territorial or tribal
Road or trail
Unsurveyed trail
District town
Village
Lolo settlement
Camp site
Lamasery
Mountain hut
Shrine, Mission, Temple
Airfield
Pass
Cave
Peak with spot height in feet
15200
Peak with glacier
Gorge
Ferry
Chain bridge
Chain bridge (destroyed)
Rope bridge
Small wooden bridge
Unexplored streams
Disappearing stream
Hot spring
Hot
Lake
Island in river
Sinter terrace
Ferry
Chain
Chain
(Destroyed)
Rope
Wooden

[End-map I G]

101
487
361
133
491



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PROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

ARMY MAP SERVICE, U.S. ARMY, WASHINGTON, D.C., 144382
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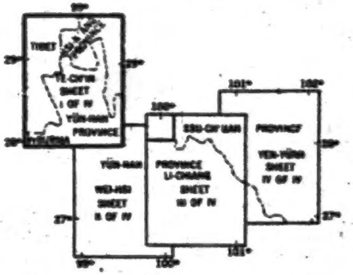
INDEX TO SHEETS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TIBET
TE-CH'IN
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PROVINCE
YÜN-NAN
WEI-HSI
SHEET
II OF IV
100°
PROVINCE
LI-CHIANG
SHEET
III OF IV
SSU-CH'UAN
PROVINCE
YEN-YÜAN
SHEET
IV OF IV
101°
102°
27°

TE-CH'IN (A-TUN-TZU), CHINA

N2750-E9800/150x130

[End map I H]

CHINA 1:500,000

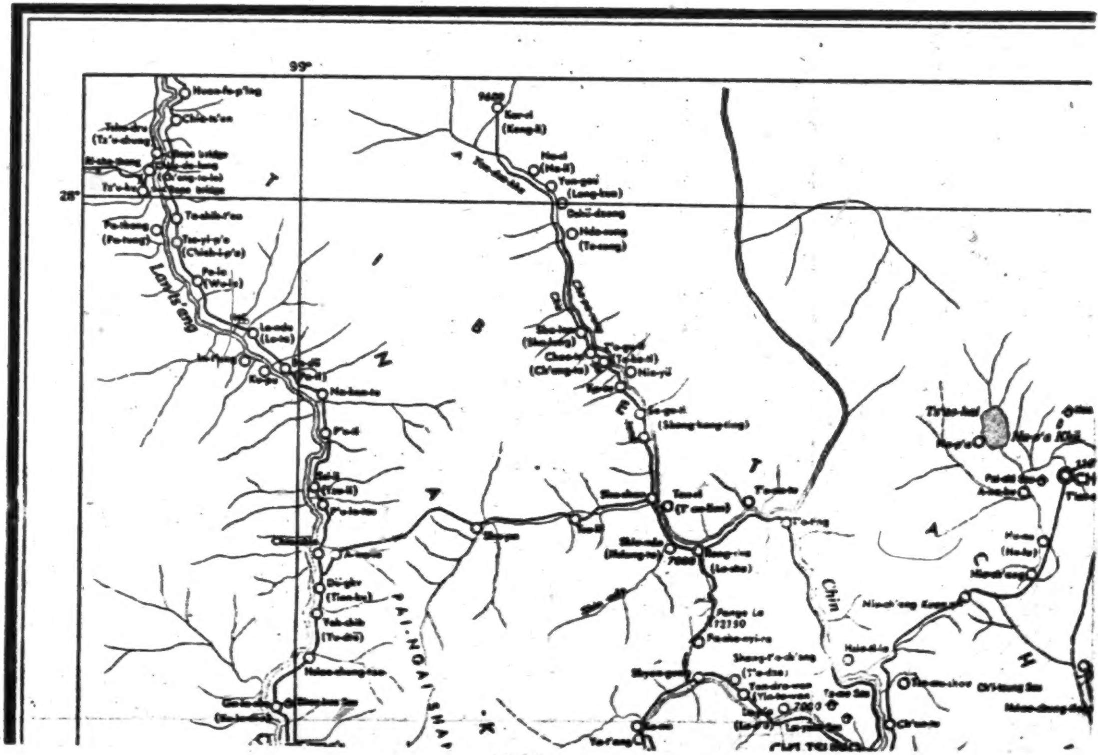
WEI-HSI

FIRS

101
487
361
133
491

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

[End map II A]


99°
28°
Lan-ts'ang
T
I
B
E
T
N
A
PAI-NGAI SHAN
Chin
A
C
H
K

487
•101
361
133
491

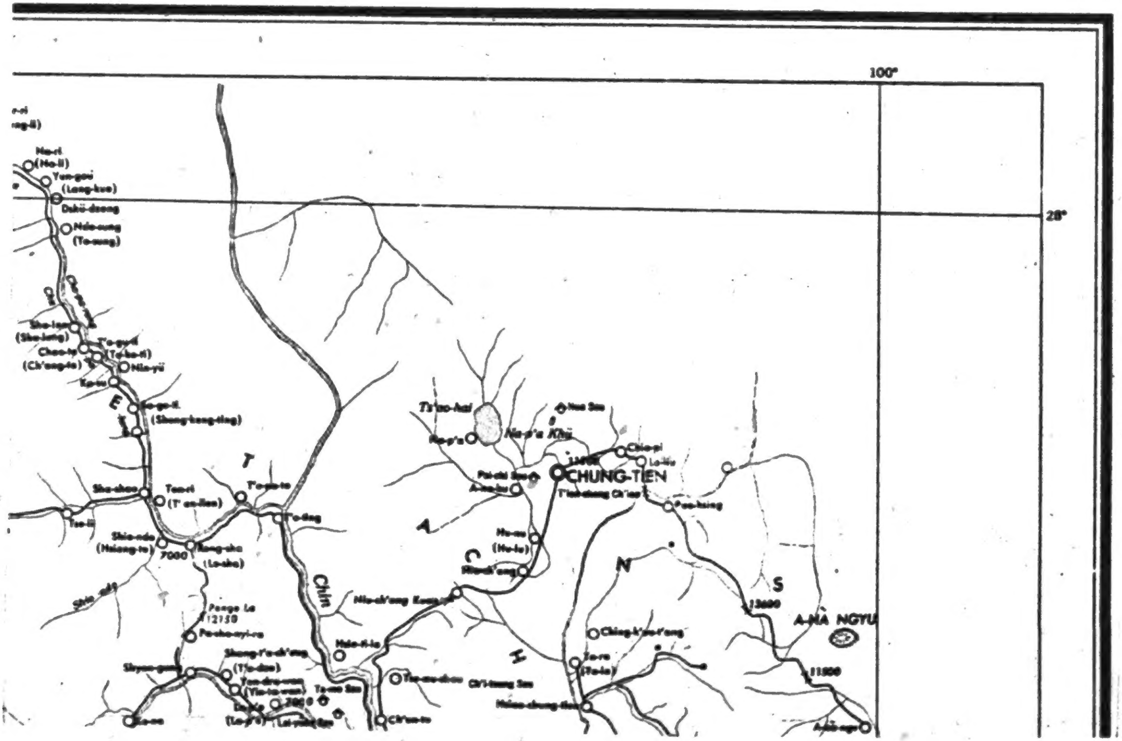
WEI-HSI

FIRST EDITION—AMS 1

SHEET II OF IV

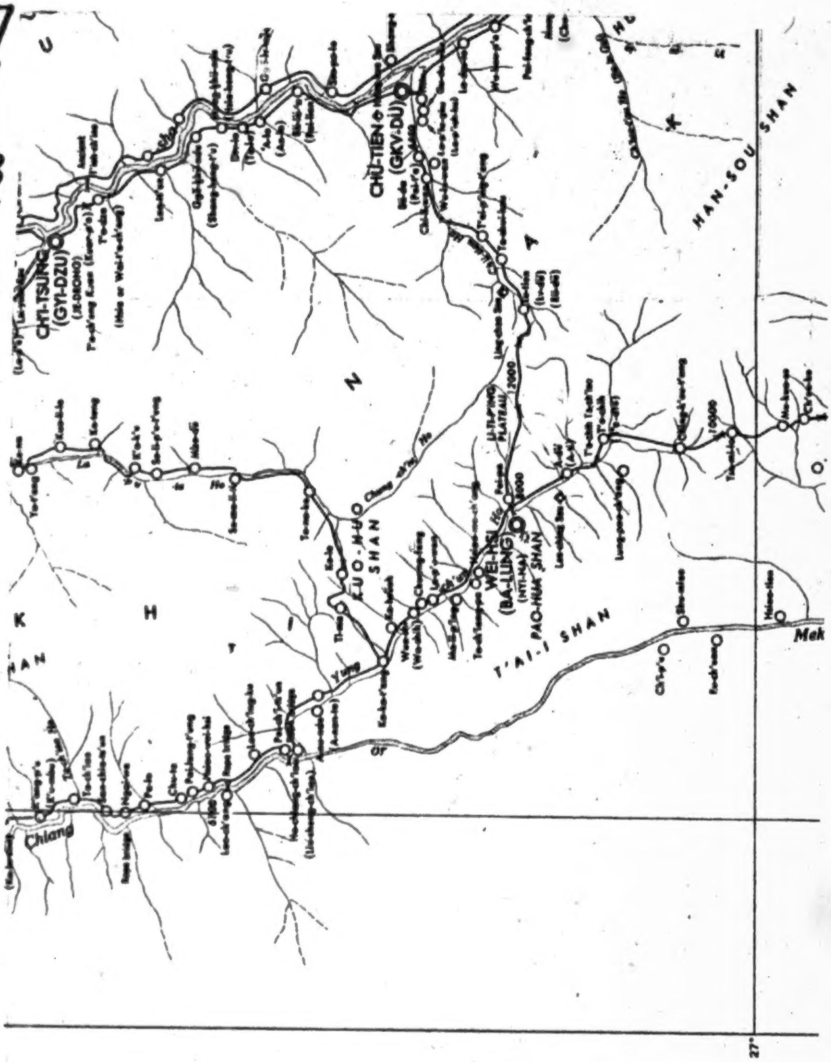
A.M.S. L406

[End map II B]


100°
28°
CHUNG-TIEN
A-NA NGYU
T
E
A
C
H
N
S
Chin
Ts'ao-hai
Ko-ya
7000
12150
13600
11500

2: Rock, K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

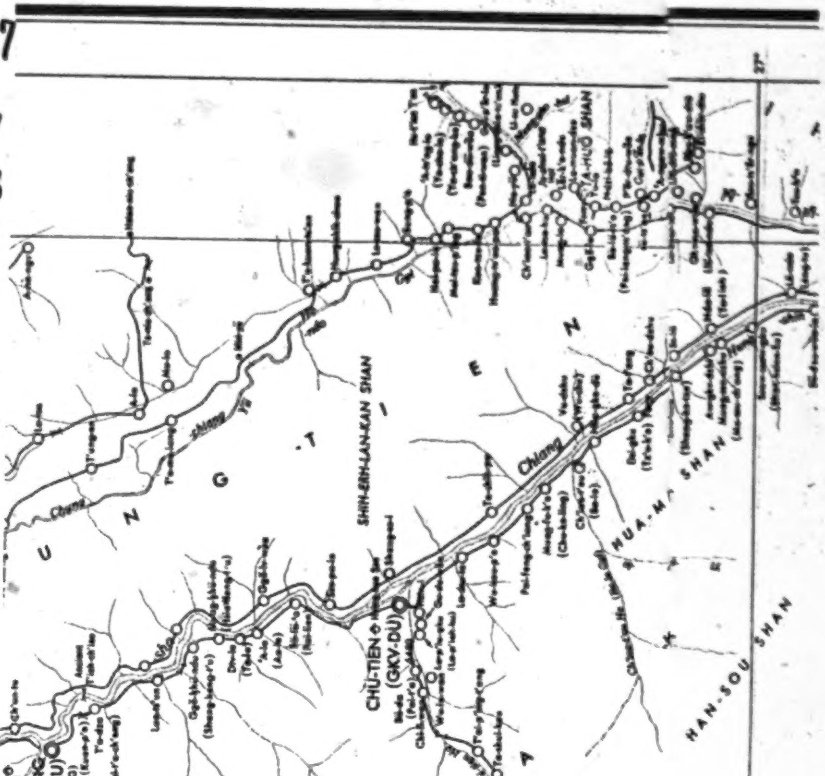
487
●101
361
133
491


CHI-TSUNG
(GYI-DZU)
(JE-DRONG)
CHÜ-TIEN
(GKV-DÜ)
WEI-HSI
(BA-LUNG)
(NYI-NA)
PAO-HUA SHAN
KUO-HUO SHAN
LI-TI-P'ING PLATEAU
T'AI-I SHAN
HAN-SOU SHAN
K
H
I
N
A
U
HAN
Chiang
Yang
Mek
12000
8000
10000
27°

[End map II C]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

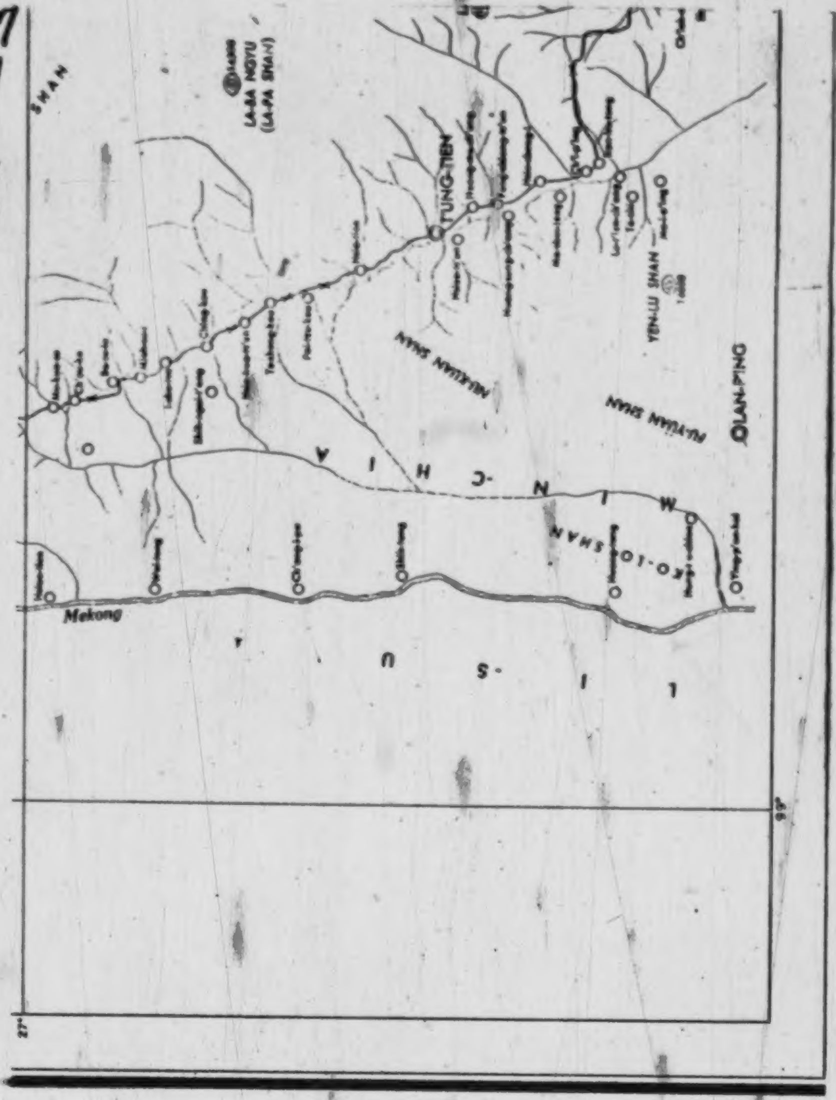
487
•101
361
133
491


CH'I-TSUNG
(GYI-DZU)
(JE-DRONG)
CHU-TIEN
(GKV-DU)
SHIN-ERH-LAN-KAN SHAN
HUA-MA SHAN
HAN-SOU SHAN
TA-HUO SHAN
LI-TI-P'ING
PLATEAU
12000
10000
Chiang
27°
U N G . T I E N
N A

[End map II D]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

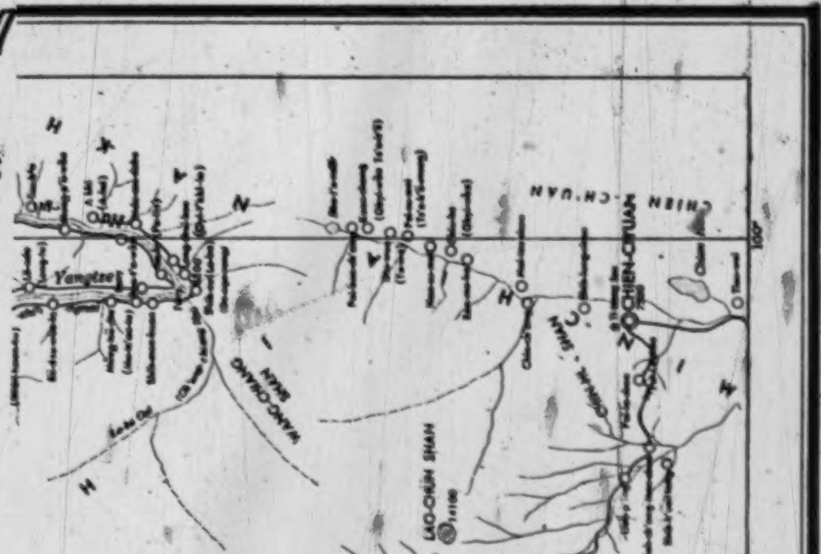
487
•101
361
133
491


SHAN
LA-BA NGYU
(LA-PA SHAN)
TUNG-TIEN
YEN-LU SHAN
NU-KUAN SHAN
FU-YÜAN SHAN
LAN-PING
MIN-CHIA
KO-LO SHAN
LI-SU
Mekong
27°
99°

[End map II E]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

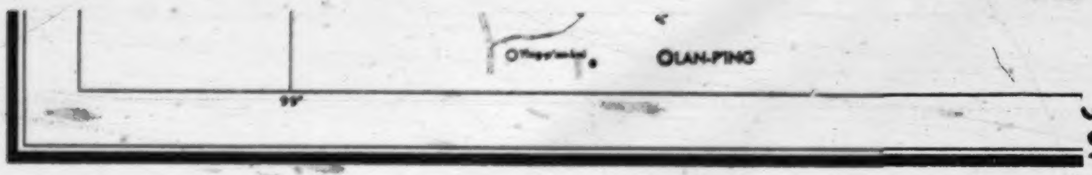
487
•101
361
133
491


Yangtze
WANG-CHANG SHAN
LA-BA NGYU
(LA-PA SHAN)
14500
LAO-CHUN SHAN
14100
TUNG-TIEN
CHIEN-CH'UAN
CHIEN-CH'UAN
YEN-LU SHAN
LAN-PING
FU-YUAN SHAN
100°

[End map II F]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

491
133
487
101
361



A.M.S. L406

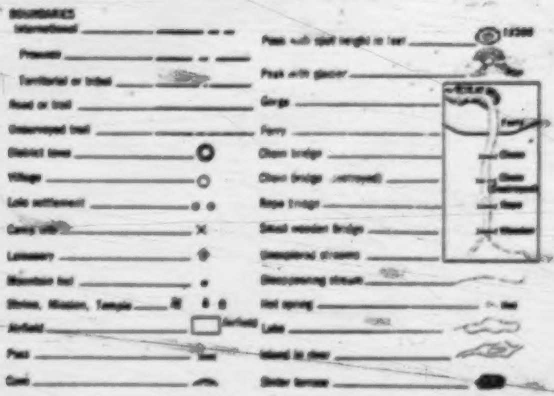
First Edition (A.M.S. 1), 1946

Prepared under the direction of the Chief of Engineers by the Army Map Service (AMPT), U. S. Army, Washington, D. C. Redrafted from original maps compiled in 1945 by J. F. Rock, from original surveys 1923, 1928, 1930 and from surveys by Major H. R. Davies 1895, Dr. H. Handel—Mazzetti 1914-16.

Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

3
0
3
6
9
12
15 Miles
10
0
10
20
30
40
50 Li

LEGEND


BOUNDARIES
International
Provincial
Territorial or tribal
Road or trail
Unsurveyed trail
District town
Village
Lolo settlement
Camp site
Lamasery
Mountain hut
Shrine, Mission, Temple
Airfield
Airfield
Pass
Cave
Peak with spot height in feet
Peak with glacier
Gorge
Ferry
Ferry
Chain bridge
Chain bridge (destroyed)
Rope bridge
Small wooden bridge
Unexplored streams
Disappearing stream
Hot spring
Lake
Island in river
Glacier terrace

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

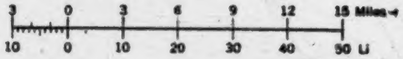
APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

[End map II 6]

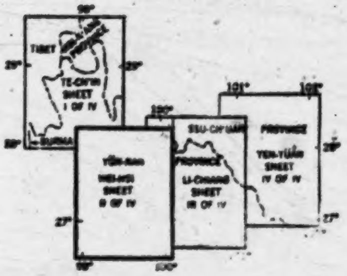
OLAN-PING
Chien
Hsi
Li
O Tien-wei
100°

ARMY MAP SERVICE, U.S. ARMY, WASHINGTON, D.C. 144363
12-46 1946

Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)


3
0
3
6
9
12
15 Miles
10
0
10
20
30
40
50 Li

INDEX TO SHEETS


99°
TIBET
29°
29°
TE-CH'IN SHEET I OF IV
28°
BURMA
YÜN-NAN
WEI-HSI SHEET II OF IV
27°
99°
100°
100°
SSU-CH'UAN
PROVINCE
LI-CHIANG SHEET III OF IV
101°
102°
PROVINCE
YEN-YÜAN SHEET IV OF IV
28°
27°

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

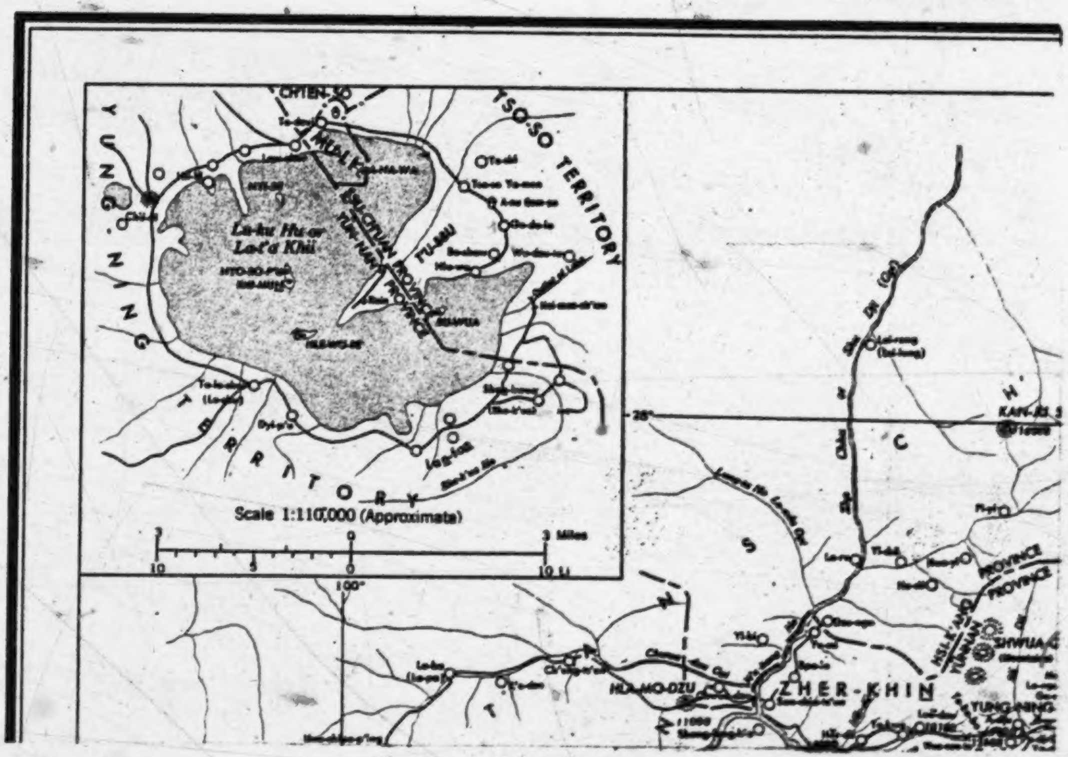
WEI-HSI, CHINA
N2625-E9850/145x120

[End map II H]

491
133
487
•101
361

CHINA 1:500,000

LI-CHIANG


CH'IEN-SO
TSO-SO TERRITORY
YUNG NING
TERRITORY
Lu-ku Hu or
Lad'a Khii
TU-SSU
SSU-CH'UAN PROVINCE
YÜN-NAN PROVINCE
Scale 1:110,000 (Approximate)
3
0
3 Miles
10
5
0
10 Li
28°
100°
S
C
T
PROVINCE
PROVINCE
HLA-MO-DZU
ZHER-KHIN
YUNG-NING
SHIH-HUA
KAN-HSI

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

491
133
487
•101
361

[End map III A]

LI-CHIANG

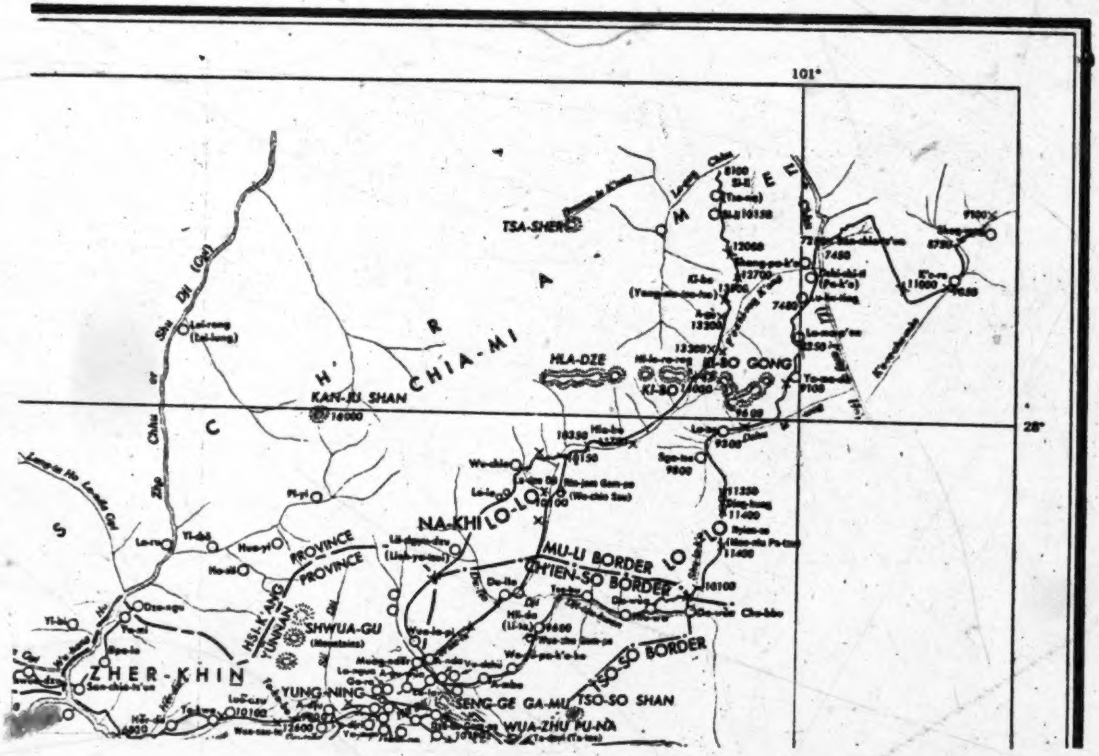
FIRST EDITION—AMS 1

SHEET III OF IV

A.M.S. L406

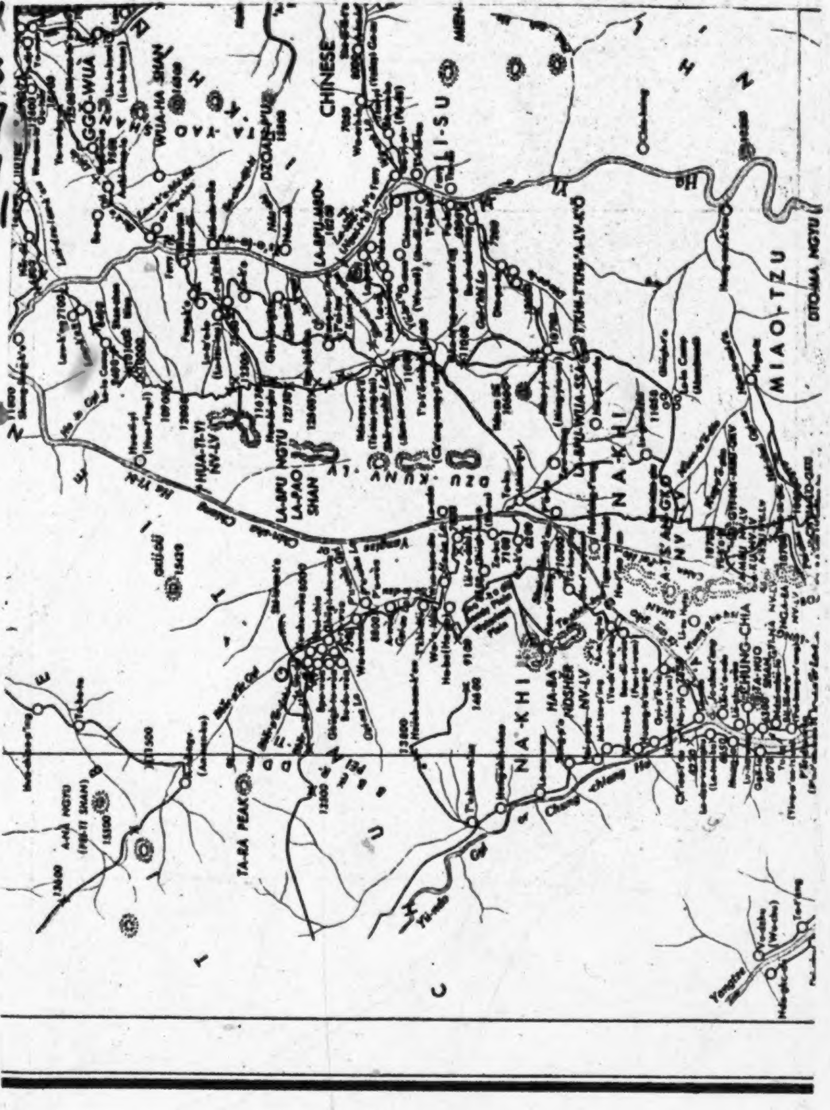
491
133
4687
•101
361

[End map III B]


101°
28°
TSA-SHER
M E
A
R
H
CHIA-MI
C
S
HLA-DZE
KI-BO
BO GONG
KAN-JU SHAN
16000
NA-KHI
LO-LO
MU-LI BORDER
CH'IEN-SO BORDER
LO LO
TSO-SO BORDER
PROVINCE
PROVINCE
HSI-K'ANG
YUNNAN
SHWUA-GU
ZHER-KHIN
YUNG-NING
SENG-GE GA-MU
TSO-SO SHAN
WUA-ZHU PU-NA

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

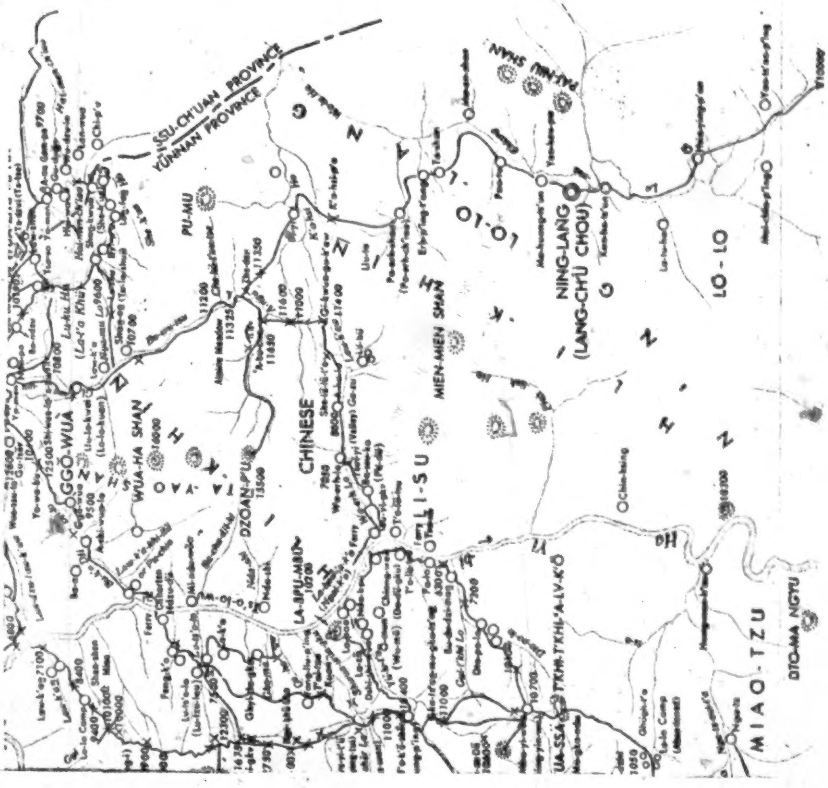
491
133
487
101
361


GGŎ-WUÀ
WUA-HA SHAN
TA-YAO
DZOAN-PU
CHINESE
LA-BPU-MBO
LI-SU
MIEN
HUA-TI-YI NV-LV
LA-BPU NGYU
LA-PAO SHAN
DZU-KUNV-LV
T'KHI-T'KHI-'A-LV-K'Ö
LA-BPU-WUA-SSÄ
NA-KHI
A-TS'AN-GKO NV-LV
MIAO-TZU
DTO-MA NGYU
CHUNG-CHIA
TA-HUO SHAN
HA-BA
NDSHĚR
NV-LV
TA-RA PEAK
A-NA NGYU
(PEI-TI SHAN)
GKU-DÜ
Yangtze
C
T
I
B
E
T
C
H
I
N
A

[End map III C]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

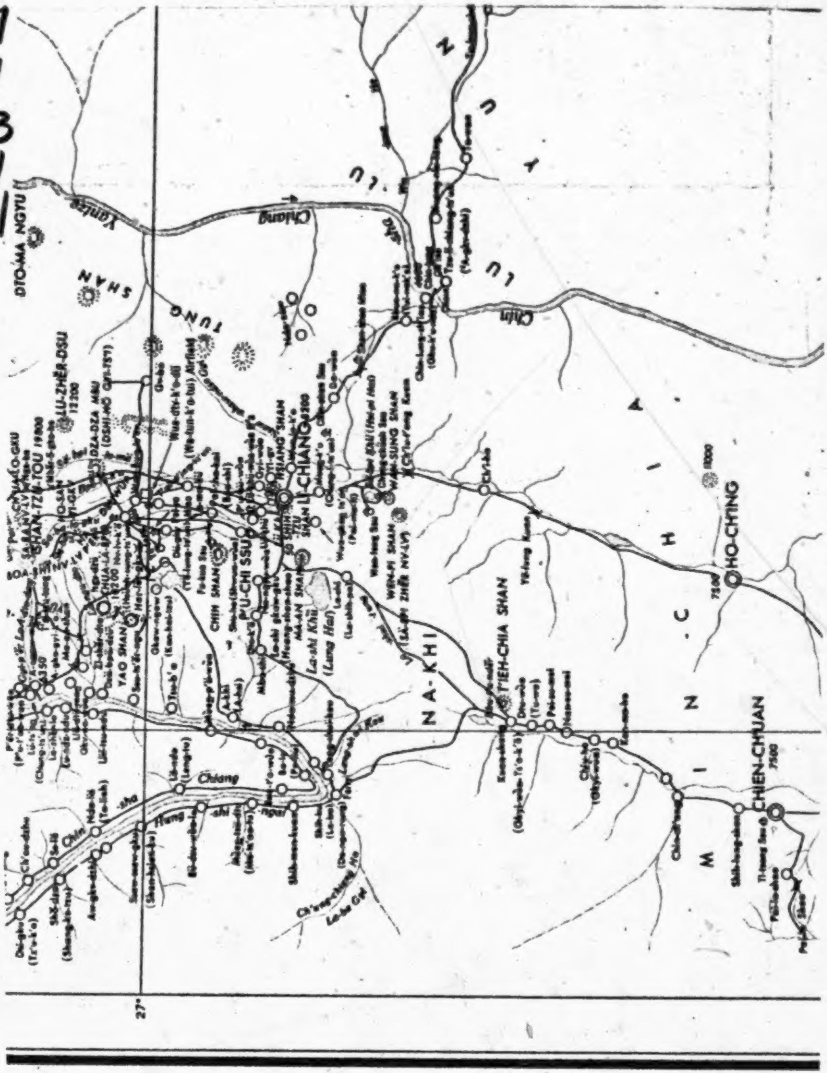
491
133
487
•101
361


SSU-CH'UAN PROVINCE
YÜNNAN PROVINCE
GGŌ-WUÀ
Lu-ku Ho
WUA-HA SHAN
PU-MU
Alpine Meadow
TA-YAO
DZOAN-P'U
LA-BPU-MBU
CHINESE
LI-SU
MIEN-MIEN SHAN
LO-LO
PAI-NIU SHAN
NING-LANG
(LANG-CH'Ü CHOU)
LO-LO
UA-SSA
T'KHI-T'KHI-'A-LV-K'Ö
MIAO-TZU
DTO-MA NGYU

[End map III D]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

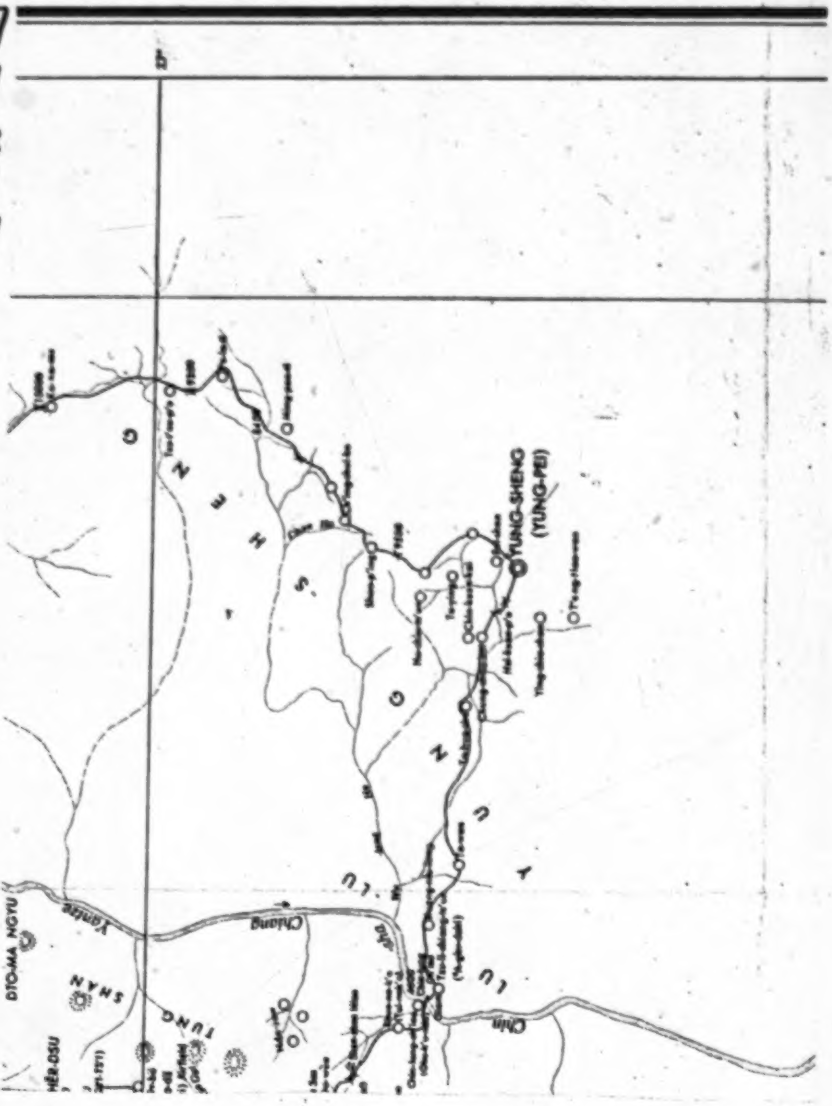
487
491
133
101
361


DTO-MA NGYU
LU-ZHĚR-DSU
12200
SHAN-TZŬ-TOU 19800
DZA-DZA MBU
(DSHI-HO GYI-757)
TUNG SHAN
Yangtze
Chiang
Chin
sha
LU
Airfield
YAO SHAN
CHIN SHAN
PU-CHI SSU
HSIANG SHAN
LI-CHIANG
MA-AN SHAN
La-shi Khi
(Lung Hai)
WEN-PI SHAN
WAN-SUNG SHAN
NA-KHI
T'IEH-CHIA SHAN
M I N . C H I A
HO-CH'ING
7500
CHIEN-CH'UAN
7500
27°

[End map III E]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

487
491
133
●101
361

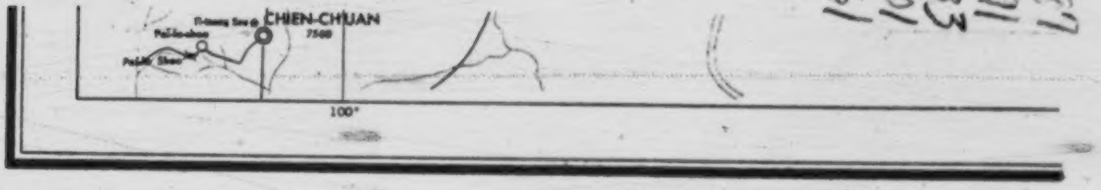


27°
DTO-MA NGYU
HÊR-DSU
TUNG SHAN
Airfield
Yantze
Chiang
Chin sha
LU
LU
Chin
YUNG SHENG
YUNG-SHENG
(YUNG-PEI)

[End map III F]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

467
471
133
101
361



A.M.S. L406

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Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

3
0
3
6
9
12
15
10
0
10
20
30
40
50

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

LEGEND

BOUNDARIES
International
Province
Territorial or tribal
Road or trail
Unsurveyed trail
District town ◎
Village ○
Lolo settlement ○ ○
Camp site ✕
Lamasery
Mountain hut •
Shrine, Mission, Temple
Airfield ▭ Airfield
Pass
Cave

Peak with spot height in feet
Peak with glacier
Gorge
Ferry
Chain bridge
Chain bridge (destroyed)
Rope bridge
Small wooden bridge
Unexplored streams
Disappearing stream
Hot spring
Lake
Island in river
Sinter terraces

Ferry
Chain
Chain (destroyed)
Rope
Wooden

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

[End map III G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

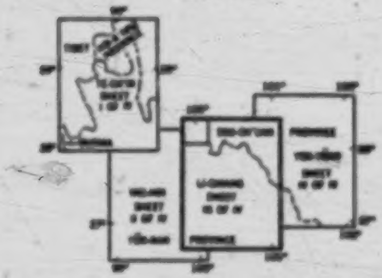
487
491
133
101
361

ARMY MAP SERVICE, U. S. ARMY, WASHINGTON, D. C. [illegible]

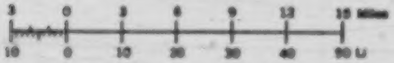
LI-CHIANG, CHINA

N2630-E9950/145x110

INDEX TO SHEETS


LI-CHIANG
SHEET
PROVINCE

Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)


3
0
3
6
9
12
15 Miles
10
0
10
20
30
40
50 Li

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

[End map III H]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

487
491
133
101
361

CHINA 1:500,000

YEN-YUAN

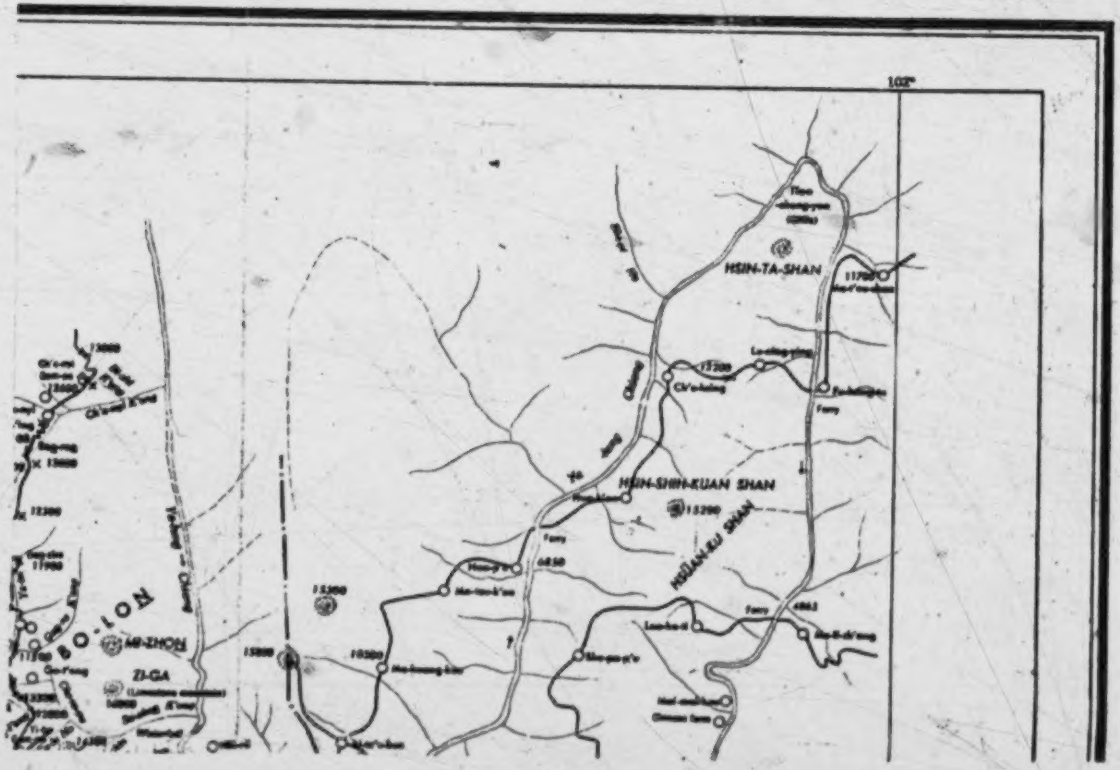
[End map IV A]

487
491
133
•/01
361

YEN-YÜAN

FIRST EDITION—AMS 1

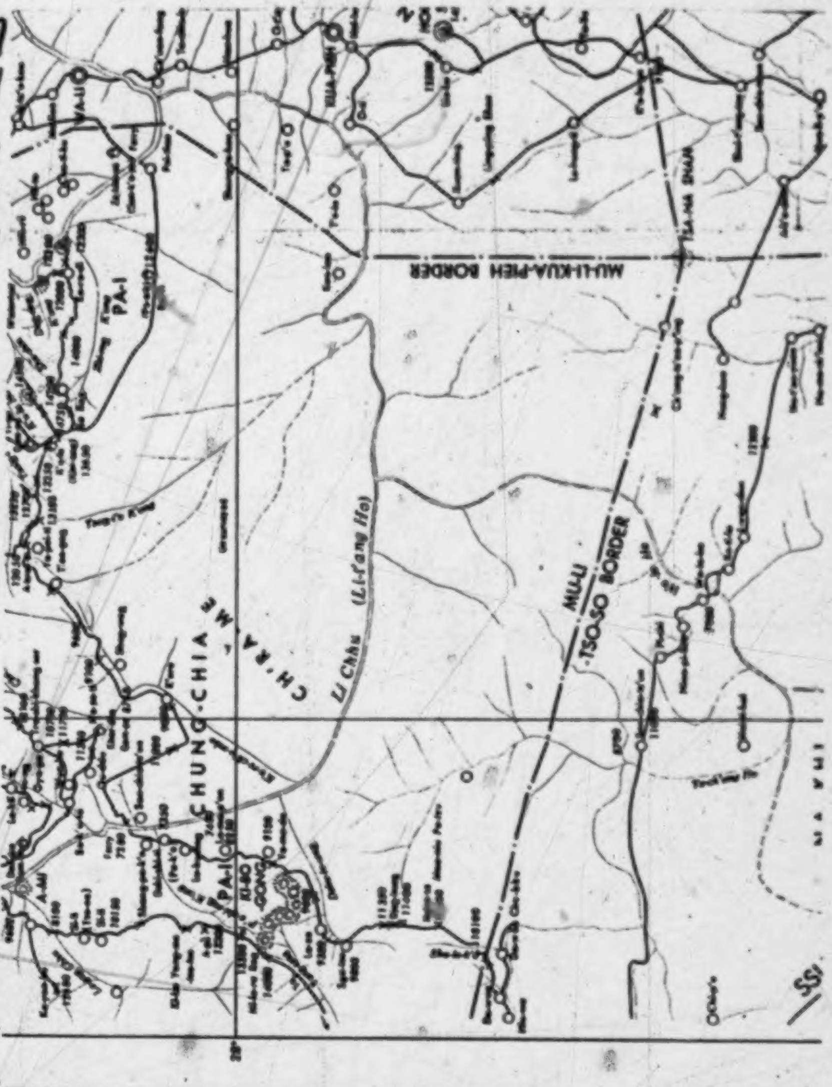
SHEET IV OF IV
A.M.S. L406


102°
HSIN-TA-SHAN
11700
13200
HSIN-SHIH-KUAN SHAN
15290
HSÜAN-KU SHAN
Ferry
6830
4863
15300
10300
13000
11700
BO-LON
MI-ZHON
ZI-GA

[End map IV B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

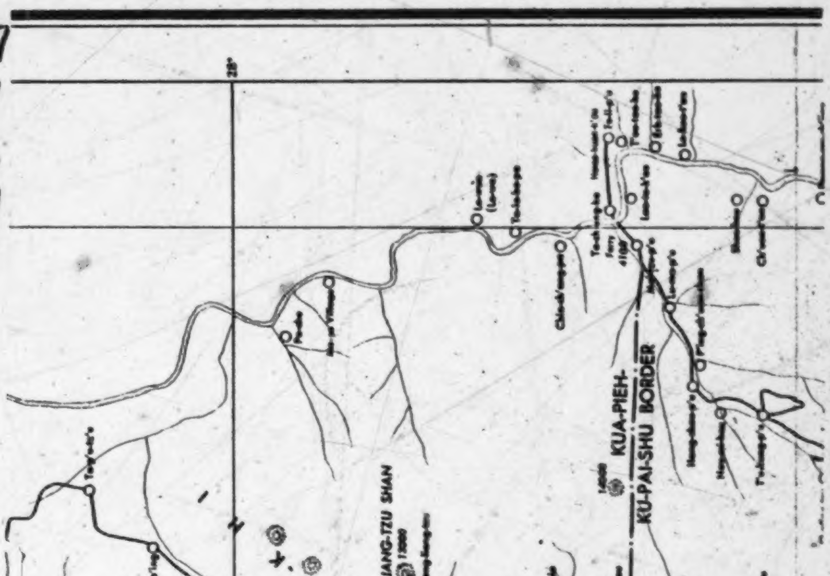
487
491
133
101
361


CHUNG-CHIA
CH'RA-ME
PA-I
PA-I
KI-BO-GONG
WA-LI
KUA-PIEH
Li Chhu (Li-t'ang Ho)
MU-LI-KUA-PIEH BORDER
MU-LI -TSO-SO BORDER
TSA-HA SHAN
NA KHI
29°

[End map IV C]

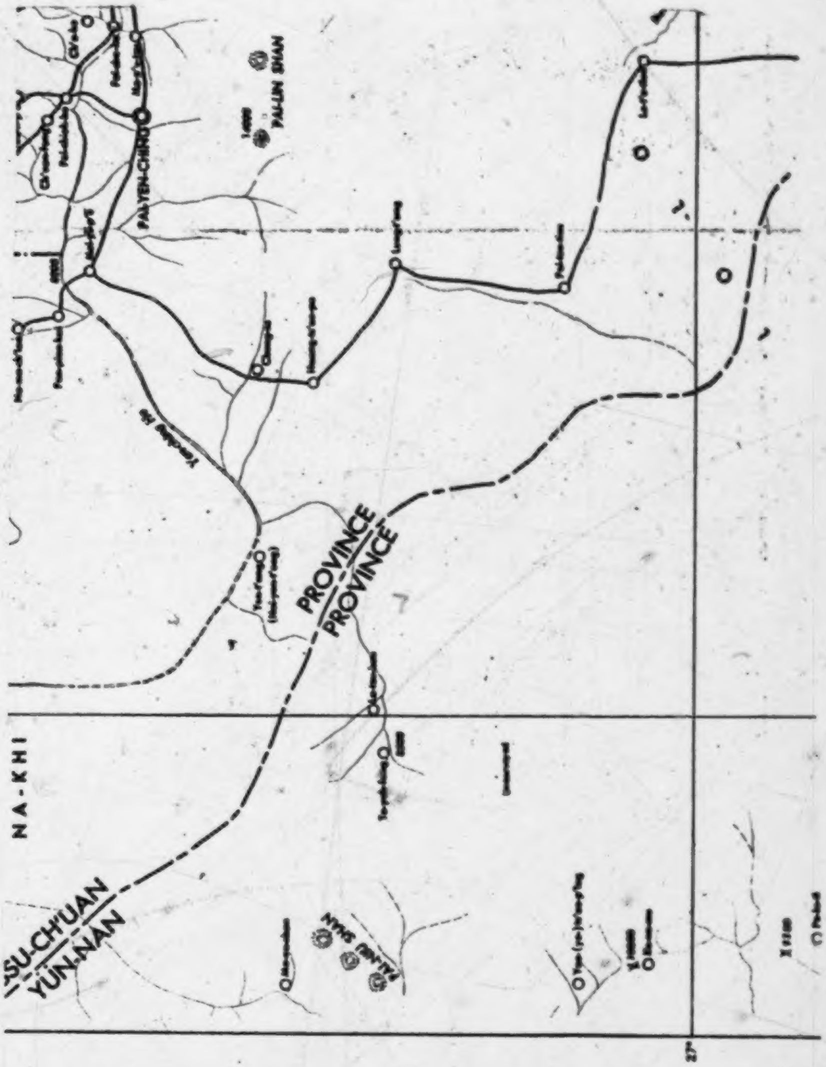
2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

487
491
133
•101
361


PA-I
WA-LI
KUA-PIEH
HENG-LIANG-TZU SHAN
HOU-LUNG SHAN
MU-LI-KUA-PIEH BORDER
KUA-PIEH-KU-PAI-SHU BORDER
TSA-NA SHAN
28°
15600
15200
13000
14500
12500
14000
12400
9200

[End map IV D]

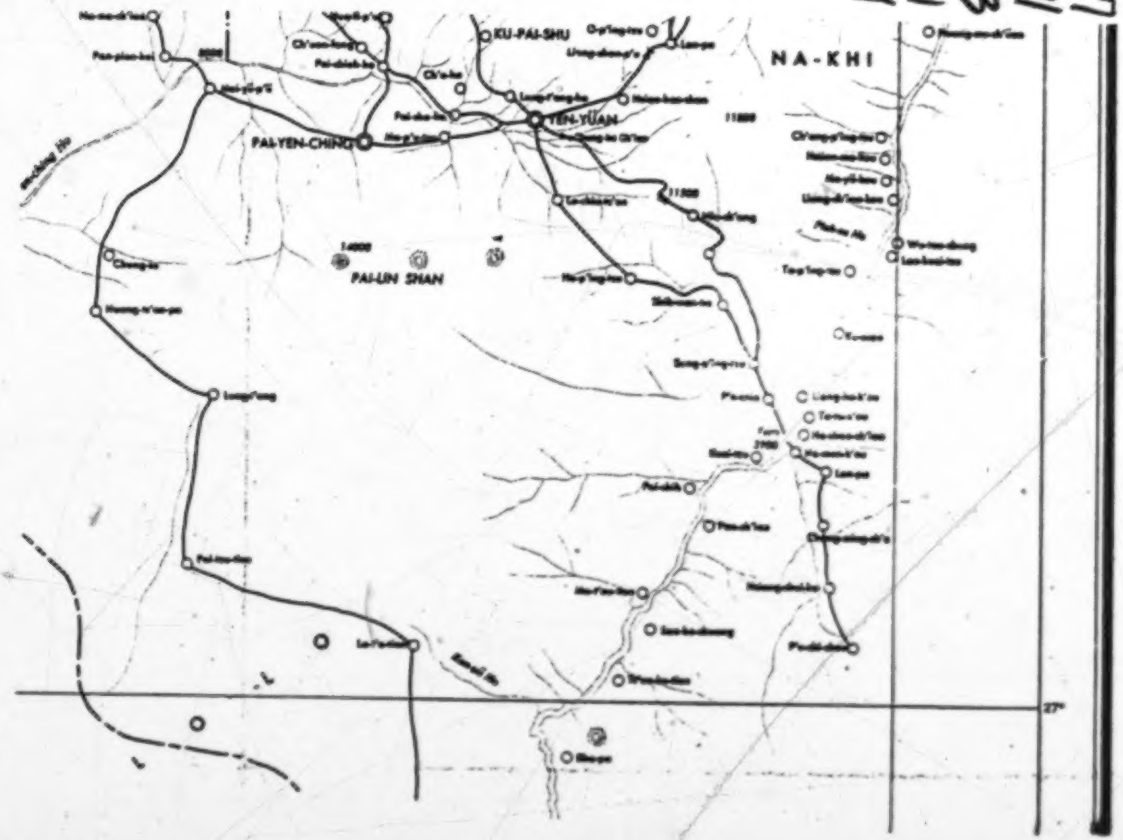
487
491
133
●101
36


PAI-YEN-CHING
PAI-LIN SHAN
PROVINCE
PROVINCE
SU-CH'UAN
YÜN-NAN
NA-KHI
27°

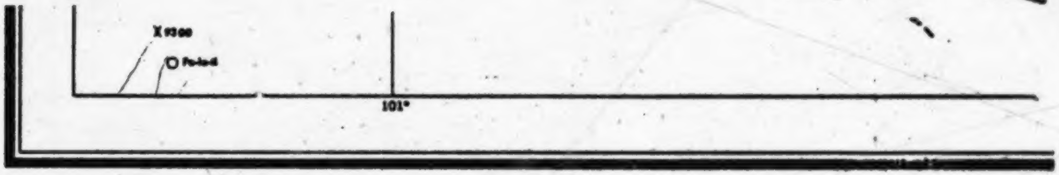
[End map IV E]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

487
491
133
101
361


NA-KHI
KU-PAI-SHU
YEN-YÜAN
PAI-YEN-CHING
PAI-LIN SHAN
11800
11500
14600
27°

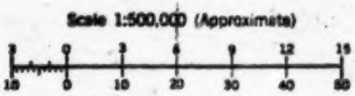
[End map IV F]

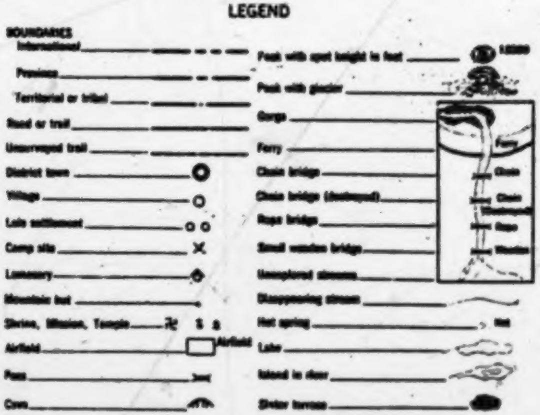

X 9300
Pa-la-di
101°

AMS L406

First Edition (A.M.S. 1), 1946

Prepared under the direction of the Chief of Engineers by the Army Map Service (AMFT), U. S. Army, Washington, D. C. Redrafted from original maps compiled in 1945 by J. F. Rock, from original surveys 1928-31 and from surveys by Major H. R. Davies 1895, Dr. H. Handel—Mazzetti 1914-18, Comte CH. de Polignac 1910.


Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)
3
0
3
6
9
12
15
10
0
10
20
30
40
50


LEGEND
BOUNDARIES
International
Province
Territorial or tribal
Road or trail
Unsurveyed trail
District town
Village
Lolo settlement
Camp site
Lamasery
Mountain hut
Shrine, Mission, Temple
Airfield
Airfield
Pass
Cave
Peak with spot height in feet
18000
Peak with glacier
Gorge
Ferry
Ferry
Chain bridge
Chain
Chain bridge (destroyed)
Chain
Rope bridge
Rope
Small wooden bridge
Wooden
Unexplored streams
Disappearing stream
Hot spring
Hot
Lake
Island in river
Sinter terrace

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

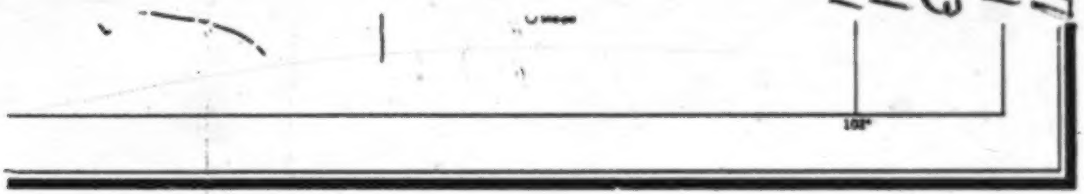
2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

487
491
133
101
361

[End map IV G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

487
491
133
101
361



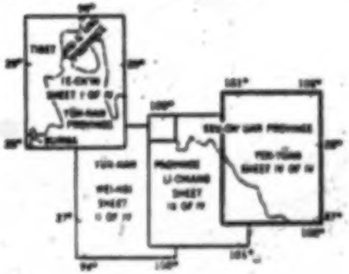
ARMY MAP SERVICE, U. S. ARMY, WASHINGTON, D. C. 144785
3-47 1947

Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

3 0 3 6 9 12 15 Miles
10 0 10 20 30 40 50 Li

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

INDEX TO SHEETS


TIBET
LI-CHIANG
SHEET I OF IV
YÜN-NAN
PROVINCE
BURMA
SZECHWAN PROVINCE
YEN-YÜAN
SHEET IV OF IV
YÜN-NAN
WEI-HSI
SHEET
II OF IV
PROVINCE
LI-CHIANG
SHEET
III OF IV
101°
102°
100°
99°

[End map IX H]

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

YEN-YUAN, CHINA

N2655-E10045/145x150

CHAPTER II

THE COMMUNITY

The Locality

West Town is within a day's journey on foot or horseback from Hsiakuan, the nearest point on the Burma Road. It has Er Hai (a lake) to one side and Ts'ang Shan, a mountain about 14,000 feet above sea level, to the other side. The general level of the ground in this part is about 6,700 feet above sea level. The chief occupation of the area is agriculture, rice being the staple crop. But trading in various forms is common both as a subsidiary and as the chief occupation. The trading includes both local exchanges in various markets and large-scale commercial adventures into the outer world. West Town is built on this peculiar form of commercialism.(3) 101 241 441

The locality is a small village or town, being under the jurisdiction of the district government of Tali. It has a population of about 1,000 households and about 8,000 people. Shops are not numerous, mostly groceries, cloth stores and a few food shops. There are a few native dispensaries and one apparently modern dispensary. The chief markets of exchange are the periodic fairs which take place both in and near the town. 621

The town is not walled. Some years ago four gates were erected which shut the town from the outlying villages at the ends of the two main thoroughfares of the town, which cross each other. At night the streets are patroled by a town-hired watchman. But the population of the town is not only confined to within these gates. Near the town are at least nine more or less clearly marked out-clusters of houses, each of which has a name as a village. Within the four gates, each street, or each section of a street, is also called a village. 621 361

People and Culture

The town with its nine near-by and several more distant villages is under the authority of a Chen-Chang (head of a sub-district) appointed by and under the direction of the governor of the district (Hsien Chang) of Tali. A small police force, supported by the town, maintains law and order. Generally speaking, the town and its satellite villages is one of the Min Chia colonies in Yunnan. But all inhabitants in the town and in all the nine near-by villages except one insists on their Chinese origin, and will be seriously offended if suggestions to the contrary are made to them. This controversial point is not the concern of this paper. It suffices here to observe that all except the inhabitants in that one village who profess to be Min Chias bind their women's feet and wear Chinese dress. But all speak Min Chia as their mother-tongue. Most men and a few women, however, speak Chinese (with a strong local accent) as well. Here the social differences between men and women is carried to its extreme. Virginity of unmarried women and chastity of married women are heavily guarded and valued. Women work while men enjoy light conversation over a cup of tea or beside a tray with an opium-smoking pipe. 632 181 [197]

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(3) For a general description of the Tali area (the geographical conditions of Tali and its environs) the reader may look up C.P. Fitzgerald, *The Tower of Five Glories*, London, 1941. As a serious scientific effort the book is a hotchpotch of hearsay and observation which disgraces rather than deserves the name of ethnology. This will be dealt with elsewhere *in extenso*.

S
131 Nam-hkam will be found on the map in latitude 23° 50'
622 and longitude 97° 45'. It is in the Northern Shan States
P and is part of the large tract of country governed by the
131 sawbwa of Theinni, or Hsen-wi, to give the name in its more correct Shan form. Nam-hkam has however a
622 hereditary ruler of its own with the rank of Myosa, i.e. Town Eater, a suggestive title which seems to fully acknowledge the oriental principle that the chief duty of the taxpayer is to support his ruler. The Myosa is usually given the courtesy rank of Sawbwa, the Burmese corruption of the Shan word Sow-hpa, Lord of the Sky, which is the usual title of a Shan chief[1].

S
361 The town lies in an extremely rich plain some 30 miles long and six miles wide, full of Shan villages and paddy fields.
P This plain is partly in the districts of Nam-hkam and Selan,
361 and partly in the Chinese Shan State of Möng Mow[2]. It is inhabited entirely by Shans.

S This very civilised and widely spread race call themselves Tai, Shan being the Burmese name for them, while
●101 the Chinese call them Pai-yi. The Siamese are now the
P only large kingdom of this race that remains, but they formerly governed a wide extent of country in western
101 Yün-nan and northern Burma, and at one time were so formidable that they conquered Burma and established a Shan dynasty there. The bulk of the Shans now live split up into a great number of semi-independent states, some tributary to Burma, some to China, and some (the Lao States) to Siam.

But the kingdom of Siam and these numerous Shan states do not by any means comprise all the members of this race. To the west one finds them in Assam and in the Chindwin valley. The plain country in the north of Burma, including the Bhamo, Mogaung and Momeit districts, is almost entirely inhabited by Shans. In southern Yün-nan and on the Tong-king border they occupy most of the low-lying valleys. There are even small communities of them in northern Yün-nan near the upper Yangtze, and I have found at least one Shan village in the Tibetan kingdom of Mi-li[3]. In Kuei-chou province they exist under the

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[1] *T'u-ssŭ (local controller) is the Chinese equivalent.*
[2] *Or Mêng-mao according to the system of transliterating Chinese.*
[3] *Lat. 28° 10', long. 100° 50'.*

S P 101

name of Chung-chia, and I have little doubt that considerable numbers of them might be found in the southern provinces of Kuang-hsi and Kuang-tung. The Yün-nan Chinamen in fact say that the Cantonese are Shans by race, and the facial resemblance between the Shan and the southern Chinaman is certainly remarkable.

S P 212 191 P 177 212 191

All the more civilised Shan States from Kamti at the sources of the western Irrawaddy down to Bangkok have an alphabetical system of writing and a very considerable literary language, which differs so much from the ordinary language used in conversation as to be incomprehensible to an uneducated man. In the more isolated communities, where the Shans have been swamped by the Chinese, though they preserve their own tongue in talking they often have no knowledge of any system of writing it.

S P 771

Spread over such a large extent of country, there are naturally diversities of dialect in the language, but Shans from very different countries can understand each other. I remember a Siamese official from Bangkok who had little difficulty in understanding the conversation of the Bhamo Shans. In religion they are Buddhists of the Burmese type of Buddhism, but the priests are much more lax in their observances than those of Burma.

S P [142] 181

They are a short, but very strongly made race, yellow in complexion, with features of a decidedly Mongolian type. A very nice, pleasant people to travel among or to have anything to do with, as long as one does not want to get any work out of them. They can work hard enough in case of necessity, and many of them are very energetic traders, but as long as they can live comfortably by working at their fields for half the year, most of them prefer to spend the rest of their time in smoking and chewing betel nut.

They are not at all warlike or unfriendly to strangers. Their curiosity is certainly great, and they will sit round in scores and hundreds to look at a European, but it is a respectful curiosity, unaccompanied by the bad manners which, among the races of Eastern Asia, seem to be a monopoly of the Chinese. I must have travelled some fifteen hundred miles through Shan countries, and I never remember any difference of opinion or unpleasantness of any kind.

Pai-i AE7

S P 361 ● 101

One more characteristic of the Shans I should mention is that they are not a hill people. It is true they usually live in a hilly country, but their own villages and fields are always in the plains and river valleys which lie in between the ranges, the actual hills being inhabited by other tribes. In Yün-nan itself they own most of the valleys below 4000 feet, anything under that level being considered too unhealthy to live in by the Yün-nanese Chinaman.

On the 8th January we left Nam-hkam, crossed the Shweli at Nawng-hok ferry and camped in Chinese territory at the large village of Möng-ping, where we slept in the Shan monastery.

S P 622 S P [291]

Our companions besides the Chinese deputies P'êng and Yüeh were the two Shan sawbwas of Möng Na[1] and San-ta[2]. The first of these chiefs is a very remarkable figure to meet with in this part of the world—a man of about 40 with a bald head, a red complexion, and a beard of enormous length. Dressed as he was in a long robe tied round the waist by a cord, one would most certainly take him for a French priest. It would not enter one's head to imagine that he was a Shan. He had a most genial manner, always spoke at the top of his voice, and was the greatest friends with everyone.

S P 302 622

Of his beard he was immensely proud, and in the early morning he would thrust it into a black silk bag to protect it from the dew. It cost him very dear a few years ago. He told us the story himself of how Ting, a Chinese general who had risen from a very low station of life, came to Möng Na and was consumed with jealousy when he saw the sawbwa's beard. He asked him how he, a mere aboriginal chief, dared to come into the presence of a Chinese general with a beard of such length, and ordered him to shave it off or pay a fine of two thousand taels. The money was paid without hesitation.

The sawbwa was however not entirely satisfied with his appearance. Though he was not much over forty, he longed for the honour and respect which in China are paid to old age, and he begged Warry to try and get him some medicine which would turn his beard white. He was much surprised

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[1] Called Kan-ngai or Kan-ai by the Chinese.
[2] Pronounced Chan-ta by the Chinese.

Pai-i AE7

The next day P'êng turned up in the morning looking 000
rather solemn and said the head-man of the village had just reported that one of our columns from Bhamo had on the previous day burnt 28 Kachin villages, most of which he said belonged to Möng Wan. The Sang-hawng people are a pretty rough lot and had probably spoken their minds freely on the subject to P'êng, who was certainly in rather an unpleasant position with us as his guests.

Mr Warry promised to send a message to the column to find out what had really happened, and we started on our march. The affair had, as is usually the case in China, been enormously exaggerated. An answer from the column arrived in due course to say that a few houses of one village in our own territory had been burnt, as the inhabitants refused to acknowledge our rule by paying tribute.

We were taking things very easy, and on the 12th S
only did 7½ miles to the village of Kying-khan. The Möng P
Wan plain is some 20 miles long and averages five or six in 101
breadth, with the Nam Wan running down the middle of it. The state is called Lung-ch'uan by the Chinese and Mowun by the Burmans. There are plenty of duck, geese, snipe, and coolan here, but it is not quite such a good shooting ground as the Shweli valley which we had just left.

The inhabitants are the real Chinese Shans or Tai Che
as they are called by the Shans further south, though they S
themselves prefer the name of Tai Nö or Northern Shans. P
Both men and women dress entirely in dark blue, the men 291
wearing round turbans and short jackets and trousers barely reaching to the knee, while the women wear a petticoat of much the same cut as the Burmese longyee with a band of the same dark blue colour wound round the waist, and turbans somewhat of the shape of a cylinder standing up a foot or more high.

This is a different costume from that of the people of Nam-hkam and Möng Mow, who in dialect and customs are half way between the Southern and the Chinese Shans. The men of these two states usually wear the white turbans put on crooked and the enormously broad trousers of the Southern Shan, while the women have a dress peculiar to themselves, the turban much lower than that of the Chinese

Pai-l AE7

S P 622 the strength of his claiming to possess supernatural powers found no difficulty in raising a following of 150 men. With these he made a strong stockade on top of a hill, and for a long time defied the efforts of the sawbwa to turn him out. Chinese troops had to be sent for, and, under the direction of Colonel Liu, a successful attack was made, and the priest and most of his followers put to death on the spot.

The Möng Na sawbwa, who was present on the occasion, received the military decoration of the Peacock's Feather for his services. But the La-hsa chief got into serious trouble for allowing the rebellion in his territory. He was deprived of all rank and titles and now appeared in the ordinary dress of a Chinaman without any official robes or hat.

He certainly did not look the sort of man to put down a rebellion, a pleasant unsophisticated old gentleman with none of the energy of his cousin, the Ho-hsa sawbwa. He remarked in the course of conversation that he did not drink liquor much, as he was afraid it might rot his beard!

He was very anxious to go to Burma, but had to wait till his son was old enough to take his place in the government of the state. The Chinese do not allow a sawbwa to leave his own country for any length of time until his son is fit to act as regent.

S P 361 The valley in which the two states of Ho-hsa and La-hsa[1] lie is some 14 miles long and not more than two miles across at the widest point. Every inch of the flat ground is cultivated, and the villages are all built at the foot of the hills, evidently because space cannot be spared for them on ground which is capable of being irrigated for rice cultivation. S P [134] [243] The soil is poor, and the crop of rice grown is barely enough for the people to live on. Consequently large numbers of men, estimated at 2000 yearly, go out every winter and spread over the neighbouring Shan States and the north of Burma in search of work. S P [463] Most of those who go out, work as carpenters and blacksmiths, in which trades they have a considerable reputation.

S ●101 The chief claim to interest of these two states is that they are inhabited by a distinct race who do not exist

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[1] Hu-sa and La-sa in Chinese, and Hotha and Latha in Burmese. The two states are often spoken of collectively as Möng Hsa by the Shans, and Maingtha by the Burmese.

Pai-i AE7

S 101 anywhere else. These are the Nga-ch'angs or A-ch'angs, called Chang by the Shans. These people's language is closely connected with Burmese, and is still more like the language of the Szi, Lashi. and Maru tribes[1] who inhabit the Kachin Hills. It has no resemblance to Shan, except the general likeness which connects all the Indo-Chinese languages. The A-ch'angs are often described as Ho-hsa Shans or, in Burmese, Maingtha Shans, and they have adopted Shan customs, dress, and religion so completely that they will even speak of themselves as Shans. But if further questioned they will always allow that they are not really of the Shan race. In feature too there is a noticeable difference between the two peoples.

S 162 The A-ch'angs, however, are not the only inhabitants of this little valley. Its height above the sea is 4500 feet, and it is consequently cold enough and healthy enough for Chinamen to live in, and there are a great number of them in the valley, most of whom have been settled here for some generations. From what the sawbwas told me there are 4000 houses in the two states, of which perhaps a third are inhabited by Chinese or half Chinese families.

S P 622 The sawbwas are both of Chinese extraction. Their ancestors came from Ch'ung-ch'ing Fu (Ch'ung-k'ing) in eastern Ssŭ-ch'uan 400 or 500 years ago. They were sent by the Chinese Government to repress disturbances which had broken out on the border, and were rewarded for their services by being made rulers of these two states. The sawbwas of Möng Na, San-ta and Möng Ti (Nan-tien) are also of Chinese origin, while the Möng Wan and Möng Mow chiefs are genuine Shans. The whole of these sawbwas, however, intermarry with each others' families and have become practically Shans, and would not now call themselves Chinese.

On the 16th January we had an ascent of 1000 feet and a long and steep descent of nearly 3000 feet into the valley of the Taping, and crossed the river, a slow sandy stream 300 yards wide. by boat to the village of Manwaing[2].

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[1] For vocabularies, see pocket in cover.

[2] This place is usually called by us by its Burmese name of Manwaing or Manwyne. Its proper Shan name is Man-ving, which has been corrupted by the Chinese into Man-yün.

712 an old moat, but this is exceptional, for in Yün-nan it is rare to find a town with a moat round it. These walled cities are found all over China, built in much the same sort of way. The Chinese have found them extremely useful in the numerous rebellions which have taken place in that country.* Even against modern armies the solidity of these defences would make them formidable obstacles if well defended, especially in a country like Yün-nan where nothing larger than mountain artillery could be brought against them.

361 T'êng-yüeh has another peculiarity which is characteristic of most Chinese towns, namely, that there are large open spaces and even fields within the city walls, while the principal shops and business houses are in the suburbs. This latter fact is probably to be accounted for by the rule which prevails throughout China that the city gates should be shut all night, so that people coming home late have to seek a lodging outside or to present the officer of the guard with a tip of perhaps as much as threepence to be allowed to go in. At T'êng-yüeh in fact many of the richest merchants do not live in the town at all, but at Ho-shun-hsiang, Yi-lo or one of the other large villages in the plain.

101 The real original name of T'êng-yüeh given it by the Shans, who no doubt inhabited it before the arrival of the Chinese, was Möng Myen, and by this name the Shans still know it. Momien, as the town is often called by Europeans, is merely the Burmese corruption of this. The origin of the Chinese name I discovered some years afterwards while travelling in a distant part of Yün-nan. Near Ch'ü-ching Fu, which lies to the east of the capital of the province, is a place called Yüeh-chou, formerly a town of the "chou" class. But as it has two other official towns within easy reach, one on each side of it, it was not considered necessary to keep it up, and it was reduced to the rank of a village, and Momien made an official town instead of it. The first syllable "t'êng" means to "fly away from" or "move away from," so that the name T'êng-yüeh Chou means "Moved away from Yüeh Chou." At present its official title is T'êng-yüeh T'ing, but the inhabitants of the place invariably refer to it as T'êng-yüeh Chou, and on the stone guide-posts, which one finds at nearly every crossroad about here, it is always called "the chou."

Pai-i AE7

S
133 Lu Chiang, the Shans the Nam Hkong, and our name for
S it is a corruption of the Burmese name Than-lwen. It is
491 crossed by another of the iron chain bridges, in this case of
two spans, the only two-span bridge of this sort in the
province as far as I know. The construction of the pier
in the middle is assisted by the fact that the westerly span,
which is 50 yards long only, crosses what is in the dry
season chiefly shingle with a shallow stream running over
it. The eastern span, 80 yards in length, crosses the main
part of the river. The bridge has naturally been built at
the narrowest place possible, so that 80 yards must not be
taken as a fair estimate of the breadth of the Salween in
this part of its course. Above and below the bridge its
width varies from 100 to 160 yards. It has a fairly strong
current and must be very deep in the middle.

At the time the bridge was under repair, and we had to
cross by ferry two miles lower down. They were removing
the stones of the pier to look at each chain and see whether
it wanted replacing. The repair of the bridge is not under-
S taken by the Chinese Government, but is paid for by a
501 subscription got up by the merchants of T'êng-yüeh. It
was noticeable that the ferry was worked by five bamboo
S rafts specially constructed for the purpose: there is not a
133 single boat in the plain. The Salween, like so many other
Yünnanese rivers, is useless for navigation. There are
quiet stretches where it would be quite possible, but the
frequent occurrence of rapids would prevent boats from
going more than a few miles.

We crossed the river and camped on the opposite bank
at a height which my boiling-point thermometer made
2,200 feet, by far the lowest elevation anywhere in this
S part of Yün-nan. The climate was consequently at this
P time of year very pleasant, not hot in the daytime, and
137 not too cold at night. The vegetation was entirely different
101 from that of the country we had been passing through.
Banyans, plantains, and other trees and shrubs peculiar to
S P the warmer climates of Burma and the Shan States are to
131 be found everywhere. The valley is in fact inhabited by
Shans who call the plain Mong Hkö and are ruled by a
sawbwa who lives a few miles below the bridge. This
is practically the limit of the Shan race in this direc-

of their deliberations had been that the *ch'ai* was to go to 000
Mêng-hua and report there that I had arrived in that district. So he accordingly went his way on to the town after a last ineffectual attempt to persuade me to go there too.

One of the village police from Hsün-chien came with us as far as Tien-chung-kai, where our route left the main road, and from there we had no difficulty in getting a man, also a village policeman, to show us the way across the hills.

The road led up to the top of the range at a low gap (7,500 feet), from here down a narrow valley with steep and in some places wooded hills on either side, and finally up half a mile of stiff ascent to the village of Wu-li-hei. I put up in a very comfortable house owned by one of the principal men of the village, who lets travellers sleep there for a consideration.

The inhabitants of the place are a tribe of Lo-los called 101
by the Chinese Mêng-hua Lo-lo or simply Mêng-hua Jên
(i.e. Mêng-hua men). Their houses are built of mud and 342
stone, all packed very closely together, and there is nothing
in the appearance of the place to distinguish it from a Chinese
village. They have in fact taken very much to Chinese 177
customs and the men dress exactly like Chinamen; they
can all speak Chinese, and some of them can also read and
write it. The women have retained their tribal costume. 291
Their dress consists of a sleeveless blue coat, and a blue skirt
with trousers underneath it, the skirt and trousers reaching
only down to the knee. The Mêng-hua Jên still use their 191
own language among themselves, and a vocabulary that I took
down in this village will be found in the pocket of the cover.
They seem very well off; their houses are large, and they 511
own considerable numbers of mules, ponies, cattle, buffaloes, 234
and goats. This particular branch of the Lo-lo family occupy 131
the greater part of the hills of the Mêng-hua district.

For the next two days our road led us through a [illegible]
mountainous country, the hill-sides sometimes bare and sometimes covered with pine forests, the inhabitants principally Lo-los. At the little village of Lu-chu-t'ang we joined into the main road from Mêng-hua, and early on the 10th we reached Sha-sung-shao, the first village in the Shun-ning district. From here there is a long bit of

000 he began to make excuses, and evidently did not like the idea. I did not want to run the chance of making any trouble in a country part of which was nominally in our territory, so I determined to take the Mêng-ting road, which being much the more level of the two would be perhaps more likely than the other to become a trade route. 5

136 On the 12th March I left Nam-hu. The jungle here is full of pea fowl and jungle fowl, and within a few miles of Kun-long there is generally a herd of elephants to be found. We took the same road by which we had come and reached Mêng-ting on the 13th. The sawbwa sent a message to say that he would give me men to go with me to Mêng-ko, but warned me that the Las along that road had held a meeting a year or two ago and decided that no Englishman was to be allowed through their country, so that he (the sawbwa) would not be responsible for anything that might happen, and would recommend my taking the road round by Kêng-ma which was quite safe.

The sawbwa's willingness to send guides with me did not look as if he anticipated that I should have any serious difficulty, so I determined to stick to my intention to go by the Mêng-ko road. Accordingly the next day we started with an escort of two of the sawbwa's men, one armed with a gun, the other with a spear.

Two thousand feet of ascent took us to Man-hsak, a
5T village containing a monastery and 50 houses, inhabited by
177 people who said they were Shans but had decidedly La features. Those Las who have become Buddhists have rather a weakness for calling themselves Shans, and even the Shans themselves will often speak of them as Tai Loi
5 or Hill Shans.

5T The Las and Was are found in considerable numbers
162 in the hills throughout Chên-k'ang (Mōng-Cheng), Kêng-
101 ma, and the other Chinese Shan States which lie between the Salween and the Mekong. They also form the bulk of the population in the independent Wa country which lies to the south of this on the borders of China and Burma.

There seems to be no way of drawing a definite distinction between the La and the Wa. The wild Was appear to call themselves Wa, but I could not hear of any group of the race who call themselves La in their own language.

Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

S ST 101 The Shans usually speak of the Buddhist Las as Tai Loi, the non-Buddhist but fairly civilised tribesmen as La, and apply the name Wa to the head-hunters of the independent country. But this rule is not of universal application, for I found the inhabitants of a very civilised village near Mêng-mêng described as Was.

The Las, Was, and the cognate tribe the Palaungs, are no doubt originally of one stock, but are now split up into tribes differing much in degree of civilisation and in dialect. To get to the bottom of their tribal classification it would be necessary to discard the misleading appellations given to them by the Shans and Chinese, and to get from these people themselves their own names for the different tribes, and where the distinction between them lies.

S ST 197 If their language can be depended on as a guide, they belong to what has been named the Mon-Annam family of the Mongolian race, and are connected with the Talaings S ST 101 or Mons of Lower Burma, the Cambodians and the Annamese. This Mon-Annam family was probably the first Mongolian race to inhabit Indo-China, and the largest communities of them, possibly pushed southward by other tribes or possibly attracted by the more fertile plain country, drifted down to Lower Burma, to Cambodia, to Cochin China, to Annam, and to Tong-king where they founded powerful kingdoms.

In their movement towards the sea these people have left a regular trail of cognate tribes behind them. Beginning with the Palaungs in Yün-nan and the Northern Shan States, the line is continued by the Las, Was, and La-was down to the Talaings of Lower Burma, while in an easterly direction the Las continue through Keng Tung till they join with the Kha-mus and La-meits who spread out towards Tong-king and Annam. The Kha-mus of Chien Hkawng, the Stiengs, Mois, and other tribes of the same family carry the line down the Mekong to Cambodia and Cochin China.

S ST 291 301 Among the Las I came across in Kêng-ma and the neighbouring states, the men's dress was as a rule the universal dark blue of the Chinese and Chinese Shans. The women usually wear skirts striped with red, blue or white, and dark blue jackets ornamented with a little red

in the Naga hills on the Assam border indulge in the same 000
sort of call.

Hsi-fan in Chinese simply means "Western Barbarian," 101
and is certainly a vague designation, but at the same time 563
it is a useful general name for a family of tribes who form a sort of connecting link between the Tibetans and the Lo-los. In manners and customs they are most of them Tibetan, though not all the Hsi-fans have adopted the religion of the lamas. The language of some of the tribes is almost a dialect of Tibetan, but among others the speech is more closely connected with Lo-lo.

The next day we struck the Ya-lung River, after five 000
miles of marching, and turned down its left bank by a very rough hillside path. One of my mules in a bad piece of steep narrow ascent lost his balance, fell over the hillside, and coming with all his weight on a sharp rock was killed on the spot.

The river here is about 100 yards wide, and as its 103
height is not much more than 5000 feet and it is shut in by very steep hills, we found the valley rather warm. As usual, in China, there is much confusion about the name of this river. Locally it is called the Chin Chiang and in fact is considered the main branch of the Yangtze, the latter being known as the Pai-shui Chiang above the confluence of the two rivers. I have never heard any Chinaman call it the Ya-lung Chiang, but it is so named on the Chinese map of Ssŭ-ch'uan and also on the small district map I saw at Mien-ning. Mr Rockhill says this is a corruption of Nya-lung, the Tibetan name. For geographical purposes it will be better to stick to the name of Ya-lung River by which
it has become generally known to Europeans. The Chinese 316
name Chin Chiang or Gold River is not inappropriate, for I saw men washing for gold in the river bed, and they said they got a fair quantity.

Crossing by ferry we had a very steep climb up to 000
Lu-ning-ying, a village of 150 houses, on a well cultivated, steeply sloping terrace.

We did not get in till dark, so I had a day's halt here to rest the mules and to get information about our future route. Mi-li was the place to which I wanted to find a road, but no one in Lu-ning-ying had ever heard of Mi-li. At

Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

ST 233 But Chung-tien is essentially a grazing country. Everywhere one sees large herds and flocks of live stock—yaks, S cattle, ponies, mules, sheep, and pigs. The breed of ponies ST is considered a good one, and mules and ponies are taken [439] nearly every year to Bhamo for sale. Rice and sugar are the chief imports, brought in by Chinese traders from Ho-ch'ing Chou. No doubt the district would be very S prosperous if it were not ground down by the lamas.

ST The natives of Chung-tien are of a different race from 563 those of Mi-li. The latter belong to the semi-Tibetan •101 family which it is convenient to call Hsi-fan. I was told that there were two different tribes in the Mi-li state, called K'a-mi and P'rü-mi respectively. The inhabitants of Chung-tien are of the genuine Tibetan race, who call themselves Pê or Pö. This in the written language is "b'ot" and is probably the last syllable of our word Tibet, the first syllable being the Tibetan word "teu" meaning "high" or S "upper[1]."

ST A vocabulary that I took down at Chung-tien shows 195 that the language of that district only differs in dialect from the Tibetan of Lhasa. The speech of Mi-li, on the contrary, though it contains some Tibetan words, is more nearly akin to the Lo-lo and to other Hsi-fan dialects.

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[1] This is Desgodins' derivation, and Rockhill also agrees. Terrien de Lacouperie, however, derives "Tibet" from *Deba*, which means a ruler or king.

CHAPTER II

FUNDAMENTAL PATTERNS OF SZECHUAN BASIN

101 Szechuan Basin, or Red Basin,[1] as it is commonly known to the western world, is located in southwest China (Fig. 1). It is one of the richest and the most distinctive geographic regions of China. Politically, Szechuan Basin belongs to the province of Szechuan. The word, Szechuan, meaning "four streams," refers to the four main tributaries of the Yangtse, namely, the Min, the To,

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[1] F. von Richtofen (*Ergebnisse Eigener Reisen* [China, 1912], III, 180) was the first western geographer to use this German name, "Das Rothes Becken," for this region. This was translated as "Red Basin" in English, and it has since become the official name for this region in all western geographical literature. It is a well-known fact that F. von Richtofen's original christening of this area was based primarily on the coloring of the dominant geological formations of cretaceous sandstomes and shales. But, during recent years, upon closer examination and more careful study of the region, many students have expressed doubt as to the appropriateness of the name "Red Basin" for this region. First of all, from the standpoint of coloring of the geological formations, not all of them are "red" (cf. C. Y. Lee, "Development of the Upper Yangtse Valley," *Bulletin Geol. Soc. of China*, XIII, 107-17). As a matter of fact, the formations (sandstones and shales) range in color from grey, brown, yellow, buff red, and purple, to deep chocolate. Some observers even insist that in so far as the color of the soil (which is one of the important factors in agricultural land-use) is concerned, it is perhaps more appropriate to call this region the "Purple Basin" (cf. J. Thorp, *Soil Geography of China* [1936], p. 200). At least, it seems fair to say that this "Red Basin" is, after all, not all "red."

Secondly, from the standpoint of soil classification and soil coloring, the term "Red Basin" is particularly misleading and inappropriate. As Thorp has emphatically and rightly pointed out, the use of this term would tend to confuse the rich and fertile "red" soils of the Basin with those highly leached, infertile red soils of other parts of southwest China. In any case, in spite of the popularity it has long enjoyed in geographical literature, the name "Red Basin" seems to be obsolete and is no longer scientifically correct. Instead, the writer proposes to adopt the name "Szechuan Basin" (both Buck and Thorp have also used this name in their recent publications). This name not only does away with all the misunderstandings, as already pointed out, but also conveys, as we shall see later, the political provincial name and the prominent physiographic feature of the region, for "Szechuan" literally means "four streams."

the Fou, and the Chialing,[1] which flow from north to south through the province. 101

The term, Szechuan "Basin," as used in the present study, is not identical with the political unit of Szechuan "province." Moreover, it slightly differs from the area known as the "Red Basin" in western geographic literature. The latter is slightly larger and includes a small portion of Kwei-chow province to the south.

As a matter of fact the boundary lines of "Szechuan Basin" as defined in the present study are topographic in character. After careful consideration of both physical and cultural patterns the 700-meter contour line (as the upper limit) was chosen as the line of demarcation.[2] In the actual drawing of the boundary line, however, some minor alterations have been made. For instance, where the selected contour crosses some of the minor narrow river valleys (such as the Chien and others), the boundary line is drawn at the middle-point of such valley rather than at the headwaters of the streams. Primarily this is done to exclude the extremely narrow strips of land in the headwater areas--lands in most places too steep for agricultural use. The total area of the Basin, thus delimited, is 146,842 square kilometers.[3] This figure is 131

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[1] Most writers give widely divergent names to the four main tributaries of the Yangtse from which the province, as well as the Basin, derives its name. Unfortunately, many of these names are inappropriate. Personally, the writer believes the four most important tributaries of the Yangtse (for reasons which will be explained in the later paragraphs) should be called the Min, the To, the Fou, and the Chialing rivers (cf. A. Hosie, Szechuan, Its Products, etc., p. 17; G. B. Cressey, China's Geographical Foundations, p. 312; L. D. Stamp, Asia [1938 ed.], p. 523; C. Y. Chang, Geography of China, II, 79; and W. D. Geil, Eighteen Capitals of China, p. 293.

[2] Arbitrary as this criterion may appear to be at first thought, it has, however, at least three distinctive merits. First, within the boundary of this chosen contour line, as we shall see later, there is a maximum coincidence between the physical and cultural patterns. Second, within this boundary there lies the most habitable and the most prosperous areas of the whole province; this is geographically significant and is particularly important from the standpoint of the study of agricultural land use. Third, this contour line, unlike many other boundaries commonly drawn to delimit the Basin, has the virtue of being a quantitative line. It furnishes a more concrete, if not a more accurate, basis for drawing the boundaries. So far as the writer is aware, no one has ever used a completely quantitative line to demarcate the boundaries of the Basin.

[3] Average of four planimeter readings.

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This tribe lives on both banks of the Gold River between my Romi Tschanggu and Wa se kou, the place where the Ta tsien lu River flows into the /218/ Kin tschuan - Tung ho which the Ta tsien lu Tibetans there call rDyarong mutschü. The Yü tung people (Tibetan: Godong) are under the rule of their own hereditary prince and speak a language that neither Chinese nor Tibetans nor people from Kin tschuan understand, and that is supposed to have similarity only with the language of Bawang, the next kingdom above Romi Tschanggu. The inhabitants are farmers and are probably already related to the Lolo of Ning yüan fu, whose language, however, has a certain relationship with Tibetan. Each year in the eleventh Chinese month they celebrate a large folk festival during which they light fires on all the mountains, amid great shouting. The festival is supposed to free the country from a dreadful snake god. In former times - so the natives tell - there lived a large snake among them in a cave, to which each year a human being had to be offered as sacrifice. Each family in turn was obliged to throw one of its members to the snake. Once fate struck a smith, but he tossed a large piece of white-hot iron into the cave. The snake snapped at it, devoured it and burned up miserably. Its petrified image is still shown near the river. The neighbors of the Godong are amazed at the strange way in which these people carry burdens. Even loads up to 100 pounds that are meant to be carried on one's back they carry fastened to a band on their forehead. 101 [197] [527] [773] [482]

On the left bank of the Tung River toward the south are the territories of the Leng pien and beyond that of the Schen pien tu se. However, today these are almost completely swallowed up by the great flood of Chinese.

/218/ On June 13, I attempted to follow the Great Gold River upstream, but was deterred because of all-too precipitous places, in view of my unskillful horses of the steppes, and decided to get to the next mandarin city of Mu gung ting by way of the so-called da lu, the main highway and military road. The journey thither was supposed to take only three days. From Mu gung ting a road that was not dangerous was said to lead over the mountains to the upper part of the Gold River. However, already the crossing of the suspension 491